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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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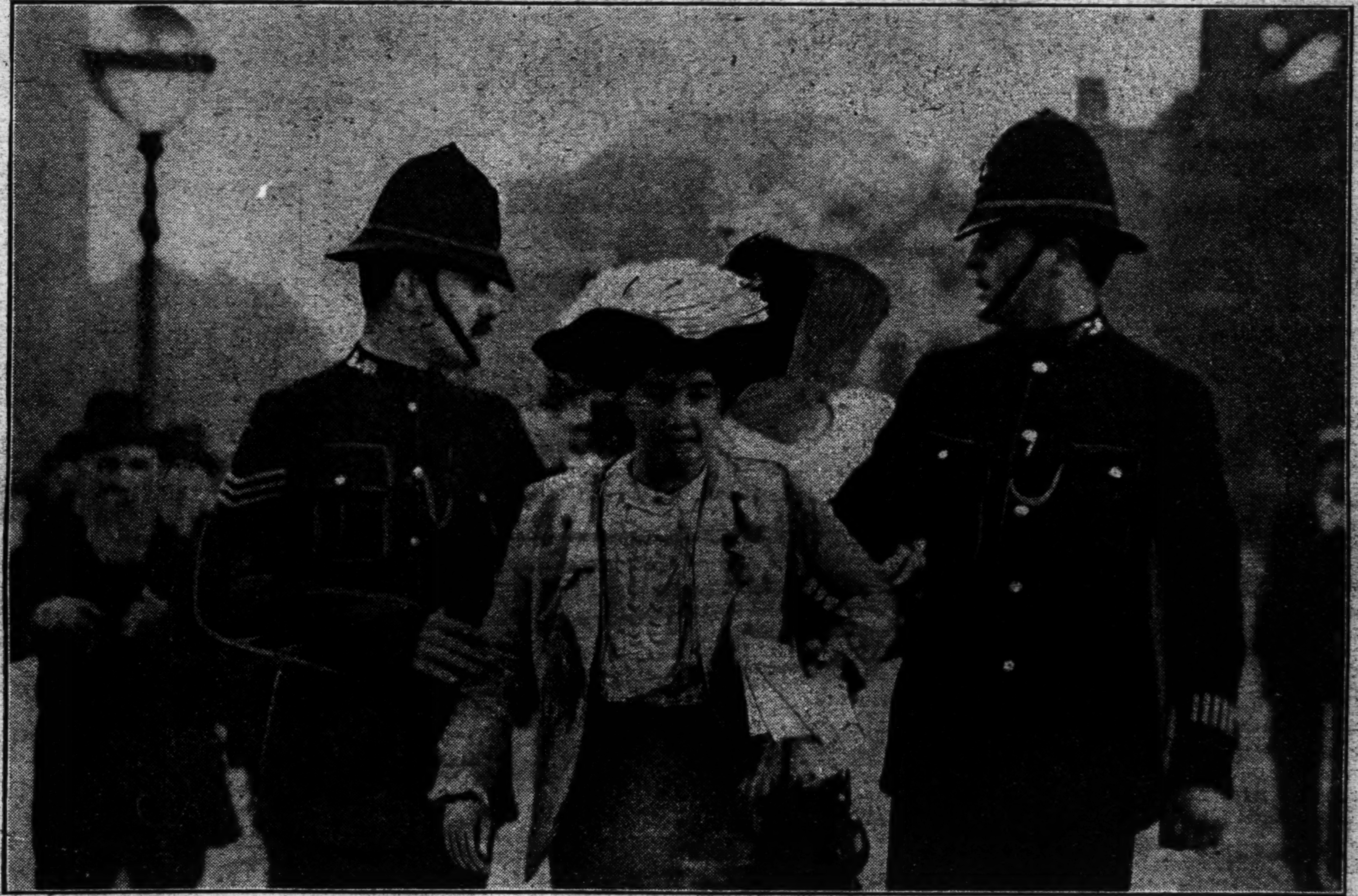
ARREST OF MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE



"Having failed in my intention of making my protest in a conventional manner, I was bound to adopt an unconventional method, just as did the Scottish bailies last week when they gave speeches from the Prime Minister's doorstep. They were not treated with violence; they were not arrested. And I claim that I have done nothing more than they did to deserve either the treatment I received yesterday or a term of imprisonment."—*Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's defence from the dock.*

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The week just gone by has seen the arrest, imprisonment, and release of one of the editors of this paper and of two other members of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.

The Conference on the Cat and Mouse Act

In our last issue we announced that an important conference was being held in the Caxton Hall on Thursday, after we had gone to press, to discuss the Cat and Mouse Act in all its aspects. To this conference the editors of this paper were invited to come as delegates; and they accepted the invitation with the sole intention of expressing their views and assisting the conference to draw up a suitable memorial. Mr. Pethick Lawrence spoke at the morning session on the legal aspect, and Mrs. Lawrence in the course of the afternoon. The conference then decided to appoint a deputation to carry the memorial in person to the Prime Minister, and nominated Sir Edward Busk as chairman, and eleven other persons, among whom were Mrs. Lawrence, Lady Sybil Smith, and Miss Evelyn Sharp, to form the body of the deputation.

A Perfectly Peaceful Deputation

Had Ministers shown an elementary sense of courtesy this perfectly peaceful deputation would have carried out its mission as originally intended; but owing to the attitude adopted by the Home Secretary an entirely different ending from that contemplated came about. When the deputation reached the House they were informed that Mr. Asquith was away in Yorkshire, and they accordingly requested an interview with Mr. McKenna, and on receiving the reply that he was engaged they expressed themselves willing to wait, and to accept time and place at his convenience, pointing out that the matter was urgent, as it related to a question of life and death. Mr. McKenna, though he consented to receive Sir Edward Busk alone next day, remained quite obdurate in his refusal to see the deputation as a whole.

Arrest and Sentences

The deputation decided that this rude refusal could not be accepted, and while they were debating what step should next be taken a crowd of M.P.'s and others gathered round them. Mrs. Lawrence thereupon commenced to address them, and was proceeding to explain to them what had taken place when she and the others were seized with great violence and flung out into the street. A further attempt to address the crowd outside resulted in the arrest of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Sybil Smith, and Miss Evelyn Sharp. Brought up at Bow Street next day, they were ordered by Sir John Dickinson to give an undertaking to keep the peace, and on their refusal were sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment.

Imprisonment and Unexpected Release

In prison, Lady Sybil Smith and Miss Evelyn Sharp at once adopted the hunger strike, but Mrs. Pethick

Lawrence, following the line of policy which she has from the first adopted with regard to this weapon, announced her intention of hunger striking only if the rights of political offenders were denied to her. While she was awaiting the decision of the Home Office on this point the Governor announced to her that a fresh commitment had been received, reducing the sentences to four days. We may be permitted to doubt whether this reduction, thoroughly right as it was in view of the trivial nature of the alleged offences, would have ever taken place if the Home Office had not been anxious that one of the prisoners, connected by blood relationship with several members of the Upper House and of the Cabinet and by marriage with an important and world-wide business house, should not be subjected to the "Cat and Mouse" Act. The releases duly took place on Monday morning last, and all the ex-prisoners are progressing favourably.

Home Office Attitude

Meanwhile, on Friday morning, Sir Edward Busk attended the appointment with Mr. McKenna, and acquainted him with the strong feeling which the "Cat and Mouse" Act is arousing among Suffragists not committed to the revolutionary policy of the W.S.P.U. The Home Secretary, though explaining that the administration of the Act was personally painful to himself, indicated his refusal either to repeal or amend it; a reply which Sir Edward Busk characterised as "entirely unsatisfactory." On the following Tuesday a semi-official statement, evidently inspired by the Home Office, appeared in the *Westminster Gazette*, in which the writer explained that the Home Office was not perturbed by the outcry against the "Cat and Mouse" Act, since it was thought to be achieving its purpose. We deal with this statement in the course of our leading article this week.

The Revolutionary Campaign

During the week the revolutionary Suffrage campaign has been carried on with unabated vehemence. The most important event has been the meeting on Sunday afternoon in Trafalgar Square, addressed by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, from which a large crowd of working men and women and others attempted to force their way to Downing Street. Twenty-five arrests were made, including the re-arrest of Miss Pankhurst herself; and on the following day nearly all the prisoners were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. At the weekly meeting of the W.S.P.U. in the London Pavilion both Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney addressed the audience, and Mrs. Pankhurst's licence was sold for £100. At the close of the meeting Miss Kenney was re-arrested and taken off to Holloway, while four other persons were arrested for attempting to shield her from the police, and were subsequently sentenced. Charges of unprovoked assault were made on both occasions against the police, and supported by a considerable weight of evidence, but as usual they were dismissed by the magistrates in the police court.

In and Out

The principal releases and rearrests under the "Cat and Mouse" Act during the week have been as follows: Mrs. Pankhurst was released for the fourth time on Thursday, July 24; on the same day Mrs. Wyan was rearrested. On Saturday Miss Nicholson was released, and on Sunday Mr. Johnson. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was arrested for the third time on Sunday, and Miss Annie Kenney for the fourth time on Monday. On Tuesday Mrs. Wyan, Miss F. Ward, Miss Nicholson, Miss Louisa Shepherd, "Eliza," and Miss M. Gray were all released. Miss Richardson was also rearrested. Mrs. Wyan refused to go into a nursing home, and insisted on camping out in the street; she was subsequently taken by the police to Kensington Union Infirmary. Though it is impossible to give details of each one of these cases, we ask our readers to bear in mind that there is not one of them that does not represent a human life in serious jeopardy.

Law-Abiding Suffragists' Great Demonstration

The peaceful side of the movement has also been well to the front this week. On Saturday afternoon, in beautiful weather, the law-abiding Suffragists held their great demonstration in Hyde Park—the culminating feature of the notable Pilgrimage which has been proceeding for the past six weeks through the main roads of England. Everything was exceedingly well organised, and complete order prevailed. The crowds who gathered round the nineteen platforms were large and thoroughly sympathetic, and the speeches sound and convincing. The only jarring note was the over-emphasis of the points of difference between the various sections of the Suffrage army, coupled in some cases with definite denunciation of those who differed in method from the speakers.

Mr. George Lansbury Goes to Gaol

Mr. Lansbury has gone to prison! After months of delay his special case was heard in the High Court last Monday, and the Judges held that the magistrate had the power to bind persons over in consequence of making speeches that they considered to be incitatory, and in default to send them to prison. Mr. Lansbury accordingly surrendered to his bail at Bow Street on Wednesday, and on refusing to be bound over was taken away to prison. The sentence which he is due to serve is three months, but it is utterly intolerable that this generous man should be put out of life for anything like this period, and we call upon all friends of liberty to agitate for his immediate release. We have not yet received any news with regard to the other great friend of the woman's cause, Mr. John Scurr, whose fate was to depend upon that of Mr. Lansbury.

"The Nation" Speaks Out

We desire to draw the attention of our readers to a very weighty article appearing in the current issue of the *Nation*, in which that paper pronounces unequivocally in favour of the immediate extension of the franchise to women, and profoundly regrets that the Liberal flag has been flying for seven years while nothing has been done to touch the grievance of women. In answer to the argument that there is no effective demand for Woman Suffrage the paper says:

> But what is an effective demand under our party system? The demand for reform under our party system is a demand organised and animated by the methods of party. Nobody will pretend, for example, that the number of persons in favour of Woman Suffrage at this moment is not vastly greater than the number of persons who were in favour of Home Rule for Ireland in the winter of 1885. Mr. Gladstone adopted Home Rule, and at once the party organisation was harnessed to the agitation. If anybody wants to deal fairly with the effective demand argument, he must ask himself, not what is the demand now, but what would be the demand if some great political leader, or if either caucus, adopted Woman Suffrage. That is the way our political system works.

The paper adds the fact that all the organisations that represent working women have expressed themselves clearly and often, and urges that Suffragists can surely challenge their opponents to point to any modern reform which has received anything like so much support as Woman Suffrage without the help of any great political leader or any party organisation.

Not a Passing Fancy

The second argument ably answered is that in which it is suggested that the movement for enfranchisement is going to flicker out. On this the *Nation* says:—

> The Liberal Party is face to face with a steady demand for freedom, and the consequence of refusing it is precisely what the consequence of refusing freedom has always been. It is no longer a question merely of delaying a reform, or waiting for it to ripen. If Liberals are going to take the view that the Tories took before 1832, that Heaven or Nature has drawn a line between those who have the franchise and those out in the cold, they will be driven to the methods by which the Tories defended their theory. A large class of people cannot be excluded from the franchise, when once its interest has been aroused, either in this country or any other, without disturbance or disorder, and the Government that tries to deal with it is drawn from one blunder to another. A Liberal Government, coercing an unenfranchised class, makes itself ridiculous or odious, or both.

The Right Time for Reform

But the most suggestive part of the article, because, as we believe, entirely new, is the *Nation's* striking analysis of the dates when previous Reform Bills were carried, and its criticism of the comfortable Liberal creed that these Bills were passed at the proper time. This view the *Nation* says:—

> amounts to saying that an earlier enfranchisement would have been premature. The very contrary seems to be true, that those reforms were already disastrously late. They were too late because the industrial revolution took place under political conditions that denied any protection to the classes that most needed it . . . . The shadow of that calamity rests to-day on the health, the physique, the mind, and the homes of the working classes, and therefore of the race

To this state of things the *Nation* finds a parallel in the passage of the Insurance Act deeply affecting the lives of women by a Parliament of men representing men alone. The importance of the article is so great that we hope our readers will not content themselves with this summary, but will study the article in its entirety for themselves.

The Maternity Benefit

We are delighted to see that the agitation by ourselves and others for the amendment of the Insurance Act, so as to provide that the maternity benefit be handed direct to the mother, has had effect. The Select Committee of the House of Commons carried an amendment with this object last Friday, not, however, without a protest from Mr. Masterman, who said he believed this alteration would be greatly resented among the working classes, by which he presumably meant the male members of the working classes. We shall watch carefully to see that no attempt to reverse or minimise the amendment is made on the Report Stage in the whole House.

The Situation on the Rand

We have before commented in these columns on the grave situation prevailing on the Rand and our complete lack of faith in Lord Gladstone, based on our own experience of past dealings with him. If a fresh conflict is provoked a grave responsiblity will be thrust upon his unworthy shoulders, and a conflagration may be expected as a result of which it may be that the Liberal Government itself will come tottering to its fall.

Items of Interest

All those who followed our special correspondent's illuminating articles on the strike in the Army Clothing Department will have rejoiced with the women in their victory, announced the other day in the House of Commons. The reduction in "drab" work is cancelled, while the advance on "scarlet" is allowed to stand. But for the new spirit among women this "concession" would never have been gained.

We read with interest that the Duchess of Marlborough is forming a new woman's party to contest municipal and other local elections in the interests of women independently of the official parties.

We are glad to see that an attempt is being made to compel the disclosure of names in the West End Flat case.

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THE PILGRIMS OF PEACE

In Hyde Park Last Saturday

The eagerly expected demonstration in Hyde Park last Saturday, organised by the law abiding section of suffragists, was carried through with marked success, The four great streams of pilgrims came thronging into the Park from the different gates carrying with them large masses of people come to hear and listen and, as the event fully showed, to approve.

The weather smiled upon the demonstrators and every detail of the organisation was carried out conspicuously according to plan. Speaking began punctually at 5 p.m., and was carried on by the great army of orators until 6 o'clock, when the resolution was put simultaneously from every platform and carried with practically no sign of dissent. We wonder whether there is any other cause of political or social importance which could achieve a similar result.

AN IMPRESSION

By H. W. Nevinson

Certainly, it was a great demonstration. It is true there was something Roumanian about it—something like an untouched army sweeping, with banners flying, into a field strewn with evidences of hard-fought battles. One could not help remembering the tragedies that lay at the back of this success—the dead and wounded women, the hopelessly injured, and those who had lost health, and wealth, and mind, and all in fighting for the Cause. One could not help remembering that, of the leaders who alone had brought victory within sight and made even this demonstration possible, one, for the sake of the Cause, was lying as near death as a human being may go and return; others were that very afternoon suffering the anguish of the hunger-strike. It is no good crying peace where there is no peace, or appealing to the reason and compassion of governors who have proved they have none. The thought of the heroic suffering, the brutish cruelty, and the unreason that formed the invisible background to a scene intended to be peaceful and triumphant made it all seem a little unreal—a rather Roumanian victory, as I said.

One would not have noticed it so much, and certainly the welcome to the Pilgrims would have been far more enthusiastic, but for the reminders of "Law-abiding" and "Non-militant" proclaimed upon banners and scarves on every side. An appeal to the eternal laws of God is always inspiring, but I can discover little of eternal Divinity in our Cat-and-Mouse legislators, and no reason why women, who have no voice in barbarous ineptitudes, should abide by them. As for "Non-militant," no cause ever won on a negative. If the National Union had kept to principles which everyone can respect, without flaunting these challenges against women who have shown the noblest devotion in the same cause, to me, at all events, the spirit of the demonstration would have appeared far finer and more vital.

The Processions

But, certainly, it was a great demonstration, and, so long as victory is won, who cares who claims it in the end? Women have accustomed us to perfect organisation. At first I thought, especially in Bloomsbury, there would be some confusion this time. But there was none. Everything went without a mistake. From long experience of large bodies of troops converging upon a single spot, I know how difficult it is to avoid crowding and crossing lines, to keep the direction and the pace, and to come up exactly to time. These difficulties were all overcome. From Addison Road, from Edgware Road, from Bloomsbury, and from Trafalgar Square, the four great processions started, grouped according to the four trunk roads by which London had been approached. Some mustered at 2, some at 2.30, and by 3 all were formed up under the banners of their towns and districts—the west and south-west in Kensington, the north-west and midlands in Maida Vale, the north-east and east-central in Bloomsbury, beside the new buildings of the British Museum, the east coast, south-east, and south in Trafalgar Square. The London contingents appeared to be divided according to districts among the others. I could not compare the length of the processions. Those in Bloomsbury and Trafalgar Square seemed about the same in numbers. All four were equally gay with banners, many of them of great beauty, and all four were brilliant with the red, white, and green of the National Union—colours recalling Garibaldi, I suppose as the example which all law-abiding and non-militant champions of freedom should follow.

Mrs. Fawcett as Leader

As to spectators, Trafalgar Square naturally gathered the biggest crowd. It is the centre of London, and it was known that Mrs. Fawcett would lead the procession there; either because it is the centre, or owing to her family's connection with the east coast at Aldeburgh. The head of nearly all processions walks too fast, forgetting the hindrances and delays that are sure to occur in the rear. But that mistake, like so many others, was avoided. The procession started dead-slow, and at very short step. Behind a small group of guides and the band, Mrs. Fawcett came. She walked alone, just in front of the National Union's splendid banner. Whether a London contingent, or the large body of International Delegates immediately followed, I do not quite remember, for my mind was occupied with the woman herself, or with the record of her life. Again I saw a vast public meeting, as I saw it some thirty years ago, and on the platform her husband was speaking—a tall, erect figure, just in the height of life and intellect, blind, but with face illuminated by an inward graciousness, sincerity, and disinterested devotion to all causes of emancipation. It is thirty years next year since he died. On his grave, I think, are written the words, "He said unto the people, go forward," and from the number of the people he did not, like our living politicians, exclude women. At the very meeting which was in my mind (it was a year or two before Mr. Asquith's party, with their boasted chivalry, threw the women overboard "to lighten the ship" of their Reform Bill), Henry Fawcett mentioned the just demand of women for the right of citizenship, and the audience received his words with the indulgent smiles due to a popular favourite when he displays some crankiness or eccentricity. Thank heaven, it is not an indulgent smile that greets the demand of "Votes for Women" at Liberal meetings now!

Such was my memory as I watched Mrs. Fawcett marching there as leader of so vast a demonstration. Rather small she looked, a little bent, ageing, but not in the least enfeebled, a personality venerable for its own constant persistency, and for association with great figures long removed into the past. Others followed—men and women of high distinction, people of present influence, and the young who have time before them for their sowing. But to myself, as to the rest of the crowd, that one ageing but persistent figure was the centre of the day; and for nearly everyone a fine personality has much more significance than the highest eloquence or reason.

At the Platforms

I think her procession was the last to arrive; but all moved into the Park long before their time, and the audiences chose their various platforms and stood waiting till five o'clock should come. There were nineteen platforms, arranged in a very wide circle—rather too wide to give the impression of mass, for the centre was almost empty, and people could move only too easily from one audience to another. Numbers, whether of troops or crowds, are very difficult to estimate. I find it a good rule to divide all estimates by two, and most by ten. The crowds were nothing in comparison with the enormous suffrage demonstration of 1908 and 1910, but they were very large. There was no disorder of any kind, no abuse, no filth. The "Anti" hooligans had not come. The speeches were received with applause, or with a silence rather oppressive but entirely respectful.

Some of the Speakers

I need not describe the speeches. As far as arguments go, there is now nothing more to be said, and if people were led by reason instead of being led by passion, prejudice, custom, habit, and privilege, the Cause would long ago have been won and accepted as a matter of course. Mrs. Fawcett's platform naturally drew the biggest audience till she had spoken. Mrs. Philip Snowden, of course, had a great reception, and Mr. W. H. Dickinson, who has done so much for the Cause, was on her platform. Of women besides Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Snowden, the most eloquent, or at least the best welcomed, seemed to be Miss Margaret Ashton and Mrs. Chew, both representing Manchester life so well; Miss Sterling, chairman of the South-western Federation; Miss Royden (always so fine a speaker), chairman of Oxford and neighbouring counties; Mrs. Bertrand Russell, Lady Rochdale, Miss Courtney, Miss Crystal Macmillan, Miss Muriel Matters; and, of course, there were many more, excellent speakers all. Of the men, I chiefly noticed Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, the indefatigable representative of the Men's League; Mr. Aneurin Williams, so long a true friend; and Mr. F. J. K. Cross, whom I remember better as one of the finest runners Oxford ever produced. Mr. Leland Buxton was there, too, representing a family so distinguished in all causes of freedom; and Mr. Mactavish, who, I was told, justified his name by downright "militancy"!

The Resolution

At six the bugles sounded, and the simple resolution demanding "a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women" was put. Hands went up in mass. Then the "Antis" voted—a few rare and scattered hands, looking like the scattered fish in a net at such a bad haul as ruins the fishermen. For, indeed, the Antis' efforts for the maintenance of darkness, inequality, and privilege are falling to ruin, and they know it.

N.U.W.S.S.
CARLISLE
N.U.W.S.S.
KESWICK
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE CROWD. [L.N.A.]

A PRESS COMMENT

The pilgrimage itself has had two aspects: it has emphasised the force of the demand for a serious Parliamentary treatment of the women's claim, or, in other words, for a Bill with the driving power of Ministerial whips behind it, and also it has been an effective preaching mission, in which speakers from every part of the country have made the national character of the movement plain to town and village.
—**Daily News and Leader.**

MR. ASQUITH REMINDED

During Mr. Asquith's visit to Morley on Thursday three Suffragists managed to approach him and remind him of the shameful cruelties that are being perpetrated under his administration. Three women succeeded in throwing some handbills and a copy of the "Suffragette" into the car in which were Mr. and Miss Asquith, and one of them loudly asked the Premier: "Why don't you stop torturing women?" As usual no answer was forthcoming.

The women were detained at the police station until Mr. Asquith's departure from the town, and then released. We understand that two of them are members of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.

◆

ATTEMPT TO PETITION THE KING

On his arrival at Chichester on Monday, on his way to Goodwood, the King inspected the local detachment of the National Reserve on the platform. He was nearing the end of the line when a nurse, an elderly woman with the red cross of one of Queen Alexandra's nurses on her arm, came forward, and, running up to His Majesty, bowed low, and held out a petition against the "Cat and Mouse" Act for his acceptance. He was just about to take it when the petitioner was pushed aside by the Duke of Richmond, and immediately afterwards seized by the King's private detective and led away.

The petitioner, Nurse Gifford, and another Suffragist were detained for some time, but were subsequently released.

◆

COMMISSIONER OF POLICE SUMMONED

At Bow Street on Friday afternoon Sir Edward Henry, the Commissioner of Police, was summoned by Mr. A. E. W. Marshall, solicitor to the W.S.P.U., to show cause why he should not deliver up money and stamps to the value of £300, and other property, seized in the raid on Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, the headquarters of the Union.

On the case being called, Mr. Marshall applied for an adjournment. He said he thought that the proceedings would be formal, but he was now informed that an important legal point would be raised, and he wished to instruct counsel. Mr. Paul, for the Commissioner, agreed to a postponement until August 8.

◆

PROTEST AGAINST UNJUST DEMAND FOR COSTS

At a recent meeting of the Swansea Branch of the National Amalgamated Labourers' Union, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—

"That we protest against this unequal law passed in 1908 by which an innocent man cannot recover his costs from the authorities, while a man found guilty can be ordered to pay the costs of the prosecution as well as his own, and demand the immediate repeal or amendment of this law."

CAT AND MOUSE ACT CONDEMNED

Conference at Caxton Hall—Deputation Appointed—Home Secretary Refuses Interview—Speeches in the Lobby—Arrest of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Sharp, and Lady Sybil Smith.

A conference of representatives of Social and Religious Bodies, Political and Suffrage Societies, and members of the Legal and Medical professions of Great Britain was held in the Caxton Hall on Thursday in last week to discuss the Cat and Mouse Act in all its aspects, and to wait upon the Prime Minister with a Memorial embodying the resolution carried.

Sir Edward Busk, late Vice-Chancellor of London University, presided, and read the following letter which he had received from the Premier's Secretary:—

"The Prime Minister desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and says if you will submit to him your resolution in writing he will give it his careful consideration. It does not, however, appear to him that any good object will be served by his receiving the deputation in reference to the Act which has so recently, after full debate in Parliament, passed into law; and he is, therefore, unable to accede to your request in that respect." (Cries of "Shame.")

Later it was suggested and decided that a deputation of twelve delegates, including Sir Edward Busk, should go and present the Memorial to Mr. Asquith, in spite of the letter.

The most interesting letters received from people unable to attend the Conference were from Prince Kropotkin and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Prince Kropotkin expressed his abhorrence of the Cat and Mouse Act, and wrote that English people could no longer criticise the methods employed in Russian prisons.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wrote that he thought the present Act in operation had many objectionable features, but that he could not think that any responsible Government would repeal it without placing some other effective measure in its place. In a further letter he said that the militants had only themselves to thank for the setback to the women's suffrage cause and for the difficulties provided by the Act. "I am rather surprised," he wrote, "that the only proposal which you make is to give women the vote. If we were not dealing with a public opinion hardened, repelled, and angered by acts of the women whose condition we are considering, in all probability the preliminary stages to the vote being given to women would have been successfully overcome by now."

The chairman said Mr. McKenna asked the House of Commons to pass the Cat and Mouse Act to ensure prisoners serving the whole of their sentences. Thus it was obvious that the Act had failed, as in no single case had this been accomplished.

Capt. Gomme, R.E., suggested that the King should be asked to receive Mrs. Pankhurst in audience.

Mr. Keir Hardie said that when speaking in the House of Commons the Home Secretary had fallen back on the commonplace that the women suffering under the Act were doing so of their own accord, and that the Act was to save them from suicide. Mr. Keir Hardie said rather that it was substituting murder for suicide. The only alternative he could suggest to the present Act was to give Votes to Women. He urged a great campaign throughout the country to explain the Act. In this, though not there in an official capacity, he felt sure he could promise them the fullest support and co-operation of the I.L.P.

Mr. Ben Tillett said that he represented 80,000 men, all of whom recognised in the Cat and Mouse Act "a barbarity so atrocious that any civilised or Christian country should be ashamed of it." If there was any real business to be done his men would take their share in the movement against the Government.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence contended that the present Act was extending in a dangerous way the power of the police, and was imposing upon the doctors very improper duties. It was part of the Criminal Law of this country that it should be aimed at the suppression of crime. This Act increased crime. If they were asked to name an alternative, he answered in the first place that it was not a question of an alternative, because the Cat and Mouse Act had itself entirely failed. But his main answer was, "Do justice, give women the vote. I am satisfied," he added, "that if you once admit the principle of slavery, you must admit the principle of the lash. What I do not admit is the principle of slavery itself. If you were asked by a slave owner what alternative you could suggest to the lash, you would say there was no alternative while slavery existed. I say that is a parallel case. The only thing to do is to do justice." (Cheers.)

The Rev. A. E. Green protested against the Act on the ground that it enforced persecution, not punishment. It showed a disregard of human life, a deliberate taking away of human life. It was also an incitement to the lowest of the population to brutality, and, further, it was a degradation of womanhood.

The Medical Aspect

Mr. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.C.S., who took the chair in the afternoon during the medical discussion, said the prison doctor was merely a paid Government official, and was bound to obey orders or go, and if he chose the latter course persecution would follow him, as could be seen by the secret attacks on Sir Victor Horsley and himself. This was the first Act in English history which legalised torture by instalments and told women that they must sacrifice either their convictions or their lives.

Sir Victor Horsley said that when the State put persons in prison it made itself responsible for their health. In passing this Bill neither the House of Commons nor the House of Lords had ever listened to medical evidence. The prisoner, he said, who is claiming political enfranchisement is psychologically in quite a different condition from the ordinary prisoner. Starvation affected the tissues of the body, it was one of the worst possible things, and was contrary to physiology and hygienic law.

Prof. Waller declared that the Cat and Mouse Act was absolute folly. It was the idea of stupid and ignorant persons who had no idea of the mischief they were doing or that the measures they were taking aggravated the disease.

Mrs. Swanwick said that she thought from a tactical point of view they should not offer any help or solution to the Government. There were probably many "Antis" opposed to the Act, and Suffragists would be in a stronger position if they did not divide the people, but opposed the Act not as Suffragists, but as human beings.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence agreed with Mrs. Swanwick that it was not as Suffragists they met in conference, but as human beings. The Cat and Mouse Act was doing the Suffrage cause no harm, for it was drawing the attention of the whole world upon it. "But," said Mrs. Lawrence, "I feel profoundly that it is worth while agitating for its repeal, for if Suffrage is not losing by it other people are. Mr. McKenna is losing for our country the respect of the whole civilised world, these devoted women are losing their vitality, and perhaps their lives, and we, if we submit, are sacrificing our manhood and our womanhood." We are bound, she said, to link with our demand for the repeal of the Act a demand for the Vote.

At the close of the conference the deputation, consisting of Sir Edward Busk, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Sybil Smith, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. Mansell-Moullin, F.R.C.S., Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Margaret Macmillan, Miss Nina Boyle, Mr. Futboye, and Mr. Laski, left for the Houses of Parliament.

SCENE AT ST. STEPHEN'S

Three Arrests

(By Our Own Correspondent.)

Judging from newspaper reports of the prosecutions following the scene at St. Stephen's on Thursday afternoon, the account of that affair given by the police was, as usual, incorrect.

For one thing, the members of the deputation did not force their way in. They were admitted, with all their colleagues, to the first hall, and after Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had explained the object of their visit the men on guard at the second door admitted the deputation and the reporters to St. Stephen's Hall, where they waited for nearly an hour for an answer to the request sent in by Sir Edward Busk that Mr. Asquith would receive them. Two plain clothes officers hovered near, overhearing their conversation, and darting off like swallows on some reference to the group waiting outside. Presently a little company of policemen marched down the hall and stood by the lower door. We noticed in a little while that they had gone, but did not hear till later that they had swept down on the people waiting, as requested, on the steps, and had thrust them out roughly and without warning.

When at last word came that Mr. Asquith was out of town, the deputation asked to see the Home Secretary, and presently Mr. McKenna's secretary appeared to say that Mr. McKenna was unable to see them as he was presiding over a special committee.

"Tell him we will wait until he is free," said Mrs. Lawrence, speaking with great earnestness and determination. "This is a matter of life and death. It will not bear delay. Tell him we will see him at any time he may appoint, but see him we must."

Once more they waited while a little crowd of members and visitors stood staring and whispering, until the secretary returned with Mr. McKenna's final message. He would not receive the deputation at all. He would receive Sir Edward Busk alone next morning at a quarter to twelve, when he could spare him exactly fifteen minutes.

That was not an offer they could accept, said the deputation, but they agreed to Sir Edward's accepting it for himself, and said they would accompany him to the door of the Home Office.

Suddenly Mrs. Lawrence looked up at the people staring and whispering around her, an audience ready to her voice. She was not the woman to miss such an opportunity. "Let's hold a meeting here," she said. "Men and women," she began in a clear voice, "we have come here to the People's House to say that we want——"

Instantly the police were on her, dragging her about roughly, and seizing two other members of the deputation whose provocation was not apparent, they struggled with the three women down the long hall, the women resisting strenuously, especially as they were carried through the doors, where one hit out at the glass panels.

By the time I reached the street, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, under arrest, was on her way to Cannon Row, Lady Sybil Smith, gentle and delicate as she is, was resisting vehemently as the police forced her into a cab, and Miss Evelyn Sharp was standing on the pavement while a big policeman eyed her sternly. She turned towards St. Stephen's door, which was now crowded with police, and the constable tried to stop her. "I have as much right there as you," she said firmly, and in a minute she, too, was under arrest, and on her way to Cannon Row. It was startling to learn next day that a magistrate had considered that not less than two weeks' imprisonment would be a suitable punishment for Miss Sharp's offence.

BRUTAL TREATMENT OF WOMEN

Not only were the members of the deputation who were admitted to St. Stephen's Hall treated to the brutality described above, but Mrs. Cecil Chapman, though also a member of the deputation, was first refused admission and then very roughly handled. Miss Margaret Macmillan was knocked down, and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck was also treated with brutality. We are informed that a summons has been taken out against the policemen in question, and we were asked to invite anyone who saw these events to communicate with Mrs. Chapman at The Cottage, Roehampton, S.W.

MEETING AT THE KINGSWAY HALL

Following on the Conference against the Cat and Mouse Bill held at the Caxton Hall last Thursday, there was a spirited meeting in the Kingsway Hall in the evening. Very early the people began to arrive, and the news of the arrest of the three delegates and of the release of Mrs. Pankhurst raised a buzz of eager comment, which turned to loud and continuous cheering when Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence came down the hall. Many others who had been on the deputation were with them, but Mrs. Lawrence, who had given her undertaking to re-appear, was the only member present who had been arrested. All the speakers, later on in the evening, referred to the disgraceful treatment meted out to this perfectly peaceful deputation—many of them in scarcely parliamentary language; and the general feeling among the audience was one of hot indignation and anger against the authorities who had licensed such treatment.

The Chairman, Dr. Cobb, opened the meeting with a calm, well chosen speech, in which he gave his reasons for approving of the actions of women at the present time in their "righteous efforts to win a place in the sun." Before he sat down he read two telegrams—one from Miss Lena Ashwell regretting her inability to speak, and one from Miss Beatrice Harraden. The announcement that Miss Margaret Macmillan was unable to appear because she had been thrown down by the police whilst on the deputation, was received with loud shouts of defiance.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence rose to propose the resolution. Despite the rough handling she had experienced that afternoon, and from which she had only just escaped, she spoke as usual with clearness and persuasion, and her audience followed her with almost painful attention. Mrs. Lawrence told the story of the deputation that had ended in so unpremeditated a fashion for three of the delegates in Cannon Row Police Station. It was not as suffragists that they had gone to the House to demand the repeal of the Cat and Mouse Bill, but as human beings. The women who suffered under it might not think their lives too high a price to pay, but England must think it too high a price. Were these brave women the most degraded of criminals the Cat and Mouse Act would be too atrocious even for them.

Miss May Sinclair seconded the resolution, and was followed by Mrs. Dennison, who propounded several questions which should be put to the Government. In the course of her speech she referred to the influence of Mrs. Pankhurst in America, which had been very instrumental in bringing about the vote in the States.

Repeal Asquith

In a very humorous speech Mrs. Chapman, while describing the scenes she had taken part in during the deputation, referred to the policeman who had molested her—Div. A 459. She treated the Liberal suffragist members with great scorn as having stood by prepared to see the women die by inches rather than damage their own chances.

Her remarks were borne out by Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, who called on the men to rise—"if anyone is to be militant now, I suggest that it is the men." It was not the Repeal of the Cat and Mouse Bill she demanded, but the Repeal of Asquith.

The resolution demanding the immediate suspension of the Cat and Mouse Act was passed unanimously.

NO PROSPECT OF REPEAL

The Home Secretary, in accordance with the promise given to the deputation ejected from the House of Commons on Thursday evening, gave an audience to Sir Edward Busk, who headed the deputation, at the Home Office on Friday morning. In compliance with the stipulation of Mr. McKenna, Sir Edward attended alone, and he presented the memorial from the Conference. Sir Edward Busk afterwards said, "I told Mr. McKenna that we had come to the conclusion that there was no mode of stopping the disorder except by removing the grievances under which women suffered, that is, by giving them the vote. Of course we both—that is, the Home Secretary and ourselves—want to stop the disorder; but I said that until the grievances were removed it would be impossible. Mr. McKenna said that his duty was only to administer the law, and he told me, and I believe it is so, that his duties under this Act are extremely painful to him. However, he could hold out no hope that the Act would be repealed. At the conclusion of the interview, as we were parting, I felt bound to tell him that the result was most unsatisfactory to us, at which Mr. McKenna smiled."

MR. McKENNA SATISFIED

During the discussion in committee on the Home Office Vote on Wednesday (July 23) Mr. Keir Hardie raised the question of the Cat and Mouse Act. He asked the Home Secretary under what authority the police entered the Pavilion on the previous Monday for the purpose of re-arresting Mrs. Pankhurst, and whether, in the case of persons liberated on licence under the Cat and Mouse Act the police were authorised to enter private houses for the purpose of re-arresting them. He complained that undue and unnecessary force was used by the police in making arrests, and asked Mr. McKenna to issue special instructions that no hitting or pinching should be employed by the police in making arrests.

Mr. McKenna, in answer, said that no special authority was required for the police to enter the Pavilion. The police had no authority to break into a private house to effect an arrest, but if the house was open to them they were at liberty to enter and effect the arrest.

As Home Secretary he was satisfied with the administration of the Act. It had effected its purpose. It was ridiculous to suggest that in the administration of the law there had been the slightest torture inflicted. Some of the women refused to take water as well as food. They were undoubtedly injuring their own health, and undoubtedly the effects might be serious and permanent to their constitutions, but the action was their own. They could not hope to liberate themselves from the law and become licensed lawbreakers merely by expressing their determination not to take food.

Lord Robert Cecil said the object of the law was not to punish the criminal but to put a stop to crime. He wished to know whether the right hon. gentleman was of opinion that the Act had put a stop to crime. His opinion of the administration of the Act was not a favourable one.

THE DELEGATES AT BOW STREET

Sentences of Fourteen Days on Prisoners—Unexpected Release After Four Days

At Bow Street Police Court on Friday, before Sir John Dickinson, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Lady Sybil Smith were charged with obstructing the police in the execution of their duty.

Mr. H. Muskett, who prosecuted, said it was extremely to be regretted that the conduct of the defendants should have rendered it necessary for the police, in the interests of the maintenance of public order, to take them into custody.

The facts appeared to be that a conference presided over by Sir Edward Busk, who would be known to the magistrate as to himself as a man of responsibility and importance, was held at the Caxton Hall to discuss the Act commonly known as the Cat and Mouse Act. At this meeting a deputation was appointed, including Sir Edward Busk and the three ladies now charged.

A large number of persons accordingly made their way to the St. Stephen's entrance of the House of Commons and pushed their way past the policeman at the door, and were then forcibly removed. Subsequently arrangements were made for the admission of eight delegates, including Sir Edward Busk and the three defendants. Mr. Asquith was away, and Mr. M'Kenna promised to received Sir Edward Busk next morning, but refused to see other members of the deputation. The deputation rejected this offer, and a scene of great disorder arose. All the delegates were ejected, but the three defendants attempted to force their way back, and in the end the police were compelled to arrest them.

Police-sergeant Ross, giving evidence, said that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence attempted to force her way through the police, and when he asked her to go away, she answered, "I have a protest to make against this Government and the Cat and Mouse Act." Mrs. Lawrence in court explained that what she was trying to do when she said those words was to explain that she was the appointed delegate of the Conference to present a memorial to the Government. The sergeant admitted she had a paper in her hand.

Constable Langham, who ejected and subsequently arrested Miss Sharp, stated that she decared she had a perfect right to enter.

LADY SYBIL SMITH

Lady Sybil Smith, addressing the magistrate, said:—

I wish to say that I myself am no advocate of serious violence to promote political ends, whether on the part of Orangemen, Home Rulers, Suffragists, or any other political agitators.

But with regard to the women's movement for political freedom, I feel strongly that the Government is immediately responsible for having driven some of the finest women in the country to extremes. Further, I think that the so-called Cat and Mouse Bill is not only a futile way of dealing with the impossible situation the Government have created for themselves, but that in practice it amounts to a process of slow murder.

I went yesterday with a deputation from an important Conference upon the Bill to wait upon the Prime Minister with a memorial. Hearing he was out of town, we asked to see Mr. McKenna. With the exception of one gentleman, we were refused an interview. I considered this an insult to the rest of the deputation, more especially as we had come upon a matter of life and death. So I protested in the lobby until turned out by force. Afterwards I tried to push my way back into the House to renew my protest until I was arrested. I do *not* regret my action.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

In a speech from the dock Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said:—

I do not propose to deal at any length with the statement of fact made by Mr. Muskett, except to emphasise that I went to the House of Commons as a duly appointed delegate from a representative Conference, and that I had been entrusted with the memorial which the Conference, after deliberating for a whole day, had carefully drawn up; this I held in my hand, as one of the witnesses has acknowledged.

The deputation had been confined to ten persons in order that we might act strictly within the law. The larger number of persons to which Mr. Muskett has made reference were not part of our deputation. On arrival at the House we applied, in accordance with our instructions, for an interview with Mr. Asquith, but when we learnt that he was not present we expressed our desire to see Mr. McKenna. We saw Mr. McKenna's secretary, who told us that Mr. McKenna was occupied and could not see us. Whereupon we said that we were willing to wait his time and pleasure, and suggested he should give us a few minutes either just before or just after his dinner, pointing out to him that our business was urgent, as it related to a matter of life and death. This request was refused, and though Mr. McKenna indicated his willingness to see Sir Edward Busk alone to-day, we did not consider that relieved the other members of the deputation of the duty imposed upon them by the Conference of giving expression to their views upon the Cat and Mouse Act.

Accordingly, being refused access to the fountain head of legislation, I considered it necessary to address myself to the general public, and to make a beginning with the small knot of Members of Parliament and others who had gathered round us in the lobby. I was beginning to explain to them the nature of our mission when I was seized and swept off my feet and rushed through the lobby and flung down the steps into the street.

Arrived there, I tried with what breath was left to place our case before the little crowd of spectators gathered outside the House, but after a very little while I was arrested and taken to the police station.

The Act is Like the Iron Maiden

In defence of my action I desire first of all to say that I stand here in this dock not primarily as a suffragist, but as a human being. My sense of humanity has been outraged at the thought of the torture inflicted by the Cat and Mouse Act—a torture which can only end in a terrible long drawn out tragedy of death.

The Cat and Mouse Act is too cruel and diabolical an engine to be employed even against the most degraded and inhuman of criminals. It reminds me of nothing so much as the Iron Maiden of the Middle Ages, whose spikes closed slowly upon its victims with terrible pressure until life was crushed out. None can keep silence with regard to this cruel Act without in some measure sharing in its infamy.

When the consciences and feeling of men and women are deeply outraged by the working of such an Act—a piece of panic legislation rushed through both Houses—they naturally seek to approach the fountain heads of legislation. This is the right way and the conventional way. And this way, as you have heard, I tried yesterday.

But having failed in my intention of making my protest in a conventional manner, I was bound to adopt an unconventional method, just as did the Scottish Bailies last week, when they gave speeches from the Prime Minister's doorstep. They were not treated with violence; they were not arrested. And I claim that I have done nothing more than they did to deserve either the treatment I received yesterday or a term of imprisonment.

Like them, I have achieved my object of publicly dissociating myself from the accusation of acquiescence in the Cat and Mouse procedure. Like them, so far as an individual may do so, I have freed myself from the blood guiltiness which will be upon us as a community when one of these victims of the Act dies.

I believe the verdict of history will hold those to be criminal who allowed without protest such things to be. I believe that verdict will acquit those who made every protest that was in any way possible to them. And on the same ground I claim a verdict of acquittal from this court today.

MISS EVELYN SHARP

Miss Evelyn Sharp said that she considered that a voteless woman, who had no control over the making of laws or the appointing of those who had to administer the law, could not admit the jurisdiction of any court until she was a free citizen. They could not keep her any length of time in prison against her consent. That was her position, and that was why she did not intend to offer any defence.

Fourteen Days' Imprisonment

The magistrate (Sir John Dickinson) said that, as they knew the Prime Minister was away and the Home Secretary engaged, they should have gone away as requested, particularly in view of the fact that he had consented to see Sir Edward Busk. He wanted them clearly to understand that procedure of this kind could not, and would not, be permitted. He should require each defendant to find two sureties in £20 each for their good behaviour for twelve months, the alternative being 14 days' imprisonment.

Mrs. Lawrence said that it was well known in that court and everywhere else that they refused to give an undertaking. The other defendants also refused. As they left the dock there was a demonstration in court, the women present cheering and applauding. As an onlooker expressed it later, "The public left the court burning with indignation, saying to each other, 'This is how militants are made.'"

The prisoners were taken up to Holloway later in the day in taxi-cabs.

RECORDS OF THE PRISONERS

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

Joint Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN and hon. secretary of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, has served five previous terms of imprisonment in connection with the women's agitation. It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the part she has played in other ways on behalf of women, and in particular in the modern movement for the franchise.

Miss Evelyn Sharp

The well-known novelist, writer and speaker, served a fortnight's imprisonment in 1911 in connection with the Suffrage agitation, and since the arrest of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in 1912 has consented to act as assistant editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Lady Sybil Smith

Lady Sybil Smith, who is the daughter of the Earl of Antrim, and who is related to several members of the present Cabinet, has never before suffered imprisonment for the Suffrage cause, though she was arrested in 1911 and sentenced to fine or imprisonment. The fine was paid by her husband on that occasion. She is the mother of seven children, the oldest of whom is sixteen years of age.

UNEXPECTED RELEASE

On the following day (Saturday) the Governor announced to them that he had received a new commitment altering their sentence from fourteen to four days' imprisonment.

In accordance with the prison regulations the prisoners were released early Monday morning, and at once joined their friends, who were naturally delighted at their speedy and unexpected return. Lady Sybil Smith and Miss Evelyn Sharp had carried out the hunger-strike during their incarceration, but Mrs. Lawrence, adhering to her policy of using the hunger-strike as a weapon to secure political treatment in prison, had not taken this course, but had informed the Governor that she would adopt it if political treatment were withheld. All are now on the rapid road to recovery.

The New Commitment

There has been considerable controversy as to the nature of the changed commitment and the cause of it. In regard to this the *Evening News* published an incorrect report of an interview with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in which reference was made to the Home Office, and it was suggested that Mrs. Lawrence took the view that her threat of a hunger-strike had produced the alteration. Mrs. Lawrence at once wrote to correct the paragraph in question, but her correction was held back until after a communication had appeared in the Press from the Governor.

The Governor's communication was a denial that the new commitment had emanated from the Home Office, and a statement that it had been sent to him by the committing magistrate, Sir John Dickinson.

We suppose that there are few people who will be found to doubt that this statement is true in form and incorrect in inference. It may be taken for granted that the magistrate's revision was due to the initiative of the Home Office. The view of the Editors of this paper as to the cause which prompted the alteration will be found in the "Outlook" of this issue.

QUESTION IN THE HOUSE

In the House of Commons on Wednesday, July 30, Lord Robert Cecil asked the Home Secretary whether in view of the fact that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Lady Sybil Smith have been released he would advise the release of Mrs. Ryan, who was convicted of a less serious offence?

Mr. McKenna said he thought the noble lord's question was based on a misapprehension. The magistrate sentenced Mrs. Lawrence and her companions to fourteen days in default of securities. On the same day, and while the case was within the jurisdiction of the magistrate, it was represented to him that they were not militants habitually engaged in the use of criminal methods, and he reduced the imprisonment to four days. There was no analogy between this case and that of the sentence of Mrs. Ryan to twenty-one days' imprisonment, as the latter case was much more serious.

(Mrs. Ryan, by whom Wyan was probably intended, was sentenced on July 15 to twenty-one days' imprisonment for obstructing and assaulting the police outside the London Pavilion. She was convicted on the evidence of one policeman, and denied the charge.)

MR. LANSBURY'S CASE

Magistrate's Power to Bind Over

Before Mr. Justice Bray, Mr. Justice Avory, and Mr. Justice Lush, sitting as a King's Bench Divisional Court, the decision of Sir John Dickinson at Bow Street Police Court, against Mr. George Lansbury, in respect of certain charges connected with the Woman Suffrage Movement, was the subject of an appeal on Monday.

It will be remembered that Mr. Lansbury, together with Mrs. Flora Drummond and Miss Annie Kenney were called upon to show cause why they should not be ordered to find sureties for their good behaviour, on the ground that they were disturbers of the peace, and inciters of others to commit certain crimes. Sir John Dickinson ordered Mr. Lansbury to enter into his own recognicances in £1,000, and to find two sureties in £500 each, for his good behaviour for twelve months, but on application he agreed to state a case, and this came on for argument on Monday.

Mr. Montagu Shearman, K.C., who appeared for Mr. Lansbury, said the magistrate decided that in default of finding sureties, Mr. Lansbury must go to prison. He contested the magistrate's decision on two points. One was that the offence with which his client was charged was that of delivering seditious speeches. He contended that there was no jurisdiction in a justice of the Peace to bind over, and in default, to commit to prison, a person using such language, and that the commonly exercised jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace rested upon no statutory or common law basis, although it had been exercised for a considerable time.

His second point was that there was no power in this connection to bind over. Information was preferred by Mr. George Riley, who applied for a summons against Mr. Lansbury, alleging that he was a disturber of the peace and an inciter of others "to commit divers crimes and misdemeanours." Mr. Lansbury's defence was that, in the speech complained of, he had been improperly reported, but the magistrate found that he uttered certain words and that they tended to act as an incitement to commit crime. For a great many years magistrates had exercised such jurisdiction, but it was doubtful whether they had the right to do. Mr. Shearman urged that Justices of the Peace had only jurisdiction to bind over persons who were "pillors and barrators," or wandering robbers. He said that Mr. Lansbury could not come under that description.

The Attorney-General was not called upon to reply.

The Court dismissed the appeal, with costs.

Mr. Justice Bray said there was abundant evidence of Mr. Lansbury's speeches on which the magistrate could find the facts that he did find. With regard to the question of jurisdiction, there was a long series of cases, and it was too late to go behind those decisions and the law laid down. Had the matter been quite a new one his lordship saw that there were arguments which might be advanced both ways. The magistrate's decision must be affirmed.

Mr. Justice Avory and Mr. Justice Lush concurred, the former saying that he believed the same decision as to magistrates' powers of jurisdiction had been arrived at over 200 years ago.

MR. LANSBURY GOES TO PRISON

At 4.10 on Wednesday last Mr. George Lansbury arrived at Bow Street Police Station in order to give himself up in accordance with the sentence of three months' imprisonment passed on him in default of being bound over. There was a crowd of about three hundred sympathisers outside the court, and a fair number within. At 4.20 Mr. Lansbury was allowed to go into the court itself, and after Mr. Bodkin had gone through the usual formalities and the defendant had again refused to be bound over, he passed out of the court into the hands of the gaoler. This was the signal for an outburst of feeling from his friends. There was one great cheer, and a man called out some very strong home-truths to the magistrate as Mr. Lansbury was taken away by the door through which all prisoners disappear.

Outside the crowd waited and waited, growing in numbers as it was joined by passers and Covent Garden porters. The indignation expressed by these two latter classes at the action of the Law was most remarkable, and equalled that of Mr. Lansbury's friends and other Suffragists. By and by two prison vans drove out with a goodly escort of police. It was uncertain which contained George Lansbury, or if, indeed, he was in either, but a most tremendous cheering broke out, and some men and women started to run after the vehicles. One man was arrested, and the police cleared away the crowd.

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By a Woman LL.B. of T.C.D.
The ECONOMIC ASPECT of WOMAN SUFFRAGE
By "Ephedros."
THE SOUL OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
By Rev. Hugh B. Chapman.
Price ONE PENNY or 8d. a dozen and postage.
REFORM LEAGUE, 29, South Ann Street, Dublin.

VOTES FOR WOMEN
4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.
Telegraphic Address:—Votfowom, Fleet, London.
Telephone:—Holborn 1305.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 1, 1913.

THE MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE

The past week has provided many manifestations of the growing spirit among women. To us the most striking feature of these manifestations has been their diversity, providing incontrovertible evidence of the vitality and permanence of the Woman Suffrage Movement as a whole.

Life, it has been truly said, cannot be measured by a foot rule; and equally no great uprising of humanity for reform can be compressed within the compass of a single formula or regulated by any one theory, however intellectually convincing. To imagine otherwise is to deny the fundamental diversity of temperament and to undervalue the vastness and grandeur of our human heritage.

If all Suffragists were united in a single Suffrage Society, not merely working for a common object, but pursuing a common and identical policy, we might be perfectly certain that they represented in their entirety only a small fraction of the womanhood of the country. The fact that in the British Suffrage Movement of to-day it is far otherwise, that there are many different Suffrage societies, with widely different methods, is not, as some people suppose, a sign of weakness, but a proof that the Movement is wide as human life itself, and contains all those diverse elements of which the race as a whole is composed.

That is why, when we are asked for which section of the Suffrage Movement we as a paper stand, we answer that we do not stand for any one section, but for the Movement as a whole. We believe that the greatest strength lies in bringing to bear upon the common object all the diverse talents and gifts which different individuals and different societies possess. And we regard our function of newspaper as that of a lamp to cast a light to illumine the situation and dispel the ignorance which prevails not only among the outside world, but even among Suffragists as to what is being accomplished in the various parts of the Suffrage Movement at the present time.

We welcome the earnestness of purpose and unflagging zeal of the non-militant societies which resulted in the successful pilgrimage and the effective demonstration of last Saturday just as we honour the heroic courage and indomitable spirit of the women who are facing unmoved the tortures of the Cat and Mouse Act. We rejoice in the praise bestowed by the Press upon the law-abiding section of Suffragists just as we rejoice in the failure of the Government to crush by coercion the spirit of the revolutionaries.

But while we welcome diversity among Suffragists as a sign of life we deplore, as a sign of death, in whatever camp we find it, self-righteous criticism of other parts of the Suffrage army. When any section of the movement turns aside from its own proper work of devoting its whole energy and resources in furtherance of its own principles to criticism of fellow Suffragists in the hope of attaining thereby a higher pinnacle in public estimation, we realise that we have come in contact with something petty and dishonouring to the sacred flag. There is no doubt a certain element in human nature to which this repudiation and disparagement of others offers a natural temptation, but this temptation must be resisted, not only because it is inherently ungenerous, but also because it is damaging in the long run to the society which adopts it, and, what is even still more important, to the Movement as a whole.

We do not believe that this tendency to criticise and to disparage is widespread to-day. On the contrary, we are conscious of a great and growing sense of solidarity, which fills us with joy at the present time, and with confidence for the success of the movement in the not far distant future.

In the *Westminster Gazette* on Tuesday last a semi-inspired article was published in which the Home Office is represented as exulting in the success of the Cat and Mouse Act, claiming that is has reduced crime, and that it is in consequence of this reduction that the present "violent agitation is being carried on against it."

We profoundly differ from the "liberal" writer on both points. In the first place, the Cat and Mouse Act cannot be said to have reduced crime, for the simple reason that crime has not been reduced. The ground on which he bases his case is a comparison between the number of Suffrage prisoners convicted during the last three months and those during the previous seven years; but such reasoning is utterly unconvincing, for it takes no account of the well-known fact that the leaders of the W.S.P.U., shortly previous to the passage of the Act, completely changed their policy from demonstrations in force in which women stood openly challenging arrest to grave acts of revolutionary violence committed in secret, for the great majority of which no culprit is detected. If the Act has had any effect upon the W.S.P.U., it has been to drive it more underground and to make its most revolutionary members more desperate than before.

But the point with which we are specially concerned here is the grievous error contained in the supposition that it is only the revolutionaries themselves who are violently opposed to the Act. We desire most earnestly to warn the Government against this idea that by their method they are isolating the revolutionary party. On the contrary, it is perfectly clear that their inhuman conduct is having precisely the opposite effect. At the Conference on Thursday in last week sections of the Suffrage Movement were represented which were by no means in sympathy with the policy of the revolutionary Suffragists, but they were united in their common detestation of the cruel and vindictive conduct pursued by the Government. And in consequence they went so far as to appoint a deputation with instructions to obtain an interview with the Prime Minister, in spite of his announced refusal to see them. The further discourteous folly of the Home Secretary resulted in three members of the deputation being arrested and sent to prison.

These facts should be an indication to the Government of the true position of affairs; they should prove to them that the line which separates revolutionaries from militants and militants from constitutionals, is not hard and fast, but depends on their own attitude to the situation. They ought to have learnt by this time that they cannot cow women into submission. If even now they will adopt conciliatory methods leading up to the main concession of the franchise, the great bulk of women will remain to the end law-abiding. But if they continue to resist reform, if they repeat the folly of refusing to see deputations, if they inspire their henchmen to such incitatory articles as that in the *Westminster Gazette*, they are courting a state of affairs in this country which all decent citizens would strain every nerve to prevent.

LEGAL FICTIONS IN POLITICS

Obstructing the Police. By J. W. Jeudwine

As one of the strongest social instincts of humanity is resistance to change, the really progressive society is known by its willingness to encounter revolution and to risk bloodshed in the effort to alter social conditions. It is only the nation or the party which dares change that lives. This instinct of reluctance to face change has led often to a very strange passage in the world's history, the accomplishment of changes which men have not dared to bring about directly by legal fictions, by pretending the change, as children pretend when they play at horses or at being bears. People acquiesce in such story playing until, like children, its unreality ceases to affect them.

Such legal fictions, for instance, in English law are the procedure in fines and recoveries, the writ of quominus by which the Exchequer Court made believe that a private suitor was the King's debtor, or the Bill of Middlesex and latitat, by which, through the open and unabashed falsehood that the defendant had committed a breach of the peace and lay hid in Middlesex, the King's Bench acquired a jurisdiction in Common Pleas. Such fictions were beneficial, when innovation was dangerous, to rub down the rough edges of unalterable law. Now they possess only antiquarian interest.

The Danger of Fictions in Criminal Law

But there is another class of legal fictions still living with us which are evil fictions exercising a degrading influence over all concerned with them, the agents of tyranny, the godfathers of wholesale perjury, the servants of official lying, fictions that a criminal action has been committed of which a person may be accused, though no such action has passed, such a fiction, for instance, as that Mr. George Lansbury is a "piller" under a mediæval, mistranslated Norman-French statute 600 years old. There is no better test of the weakness of a reactionary Ministry than the employment by them in magistrates' courts of legal fictions to suppress the free speech which they do not dare openly to attack by legislation or by the use of honest and definite legal methods.

Ancient, moss-grown statutes are very dangerous. But their danger is lessened somewhat by the ridicule which attaches to their use, and by the faint hope that the case may come before a magistrate who has a saving sense of humour. A much more dangerous practice, one of which the British public has not begun to appreciate the evil, lies in the abuse of the legal fictions of "being disorderly" or of "Obstructing the police in the execution of their duty."

If there is one thing which ought to be relentlessly guarded it is the administration of the criminal law in the hands of irresponsible magistrates—a certain definite charge of a definite act, a proper assurance that reasonable bail shall not be refused, a certain and definite punishment, and *a certainty that in every case into which political motive enters, the offender shall have the right of trial by his peers instead of by a magistrate from whom there is no appeal.* Every one of these safeguards of personal freedom, the only conditions under which healthy, democratic progress, which assumes free discussion, is possible, have been crushed or abused by the present Ministry and by the magistrates, acting apparently under their orders, *using legal fictions.*

A striking instance of the abuse of this fiction is the following: In December, 1909, when Mr. Asquith spoke at Liverpool, two women stood among the crowd in the street. As Mr. Asquith's motor-car came back empty, one of them threw an empty gingerbeer bottle into it. The other woman, Miss Leslie Hall, did nothing. Both were charged with "being disorderly." Asked for evidence against Miss Hall, all that the policeman could say was: "She raised her hands above her head." (See Liverpool papers, December 21-27, 1909). For this she was refused bail, imprisoned on remand over Christmas, tortured by forcible feeding while on remand, frog-marched, sentenced to a month's hard labour, put in a strait-jacket, and tortured in the punishment cell.

But, bad as is this class of imaginary offence, it pales in its influence on the law and, through the law, on society in general by the side of the fiction of "obstructing the police."

It is not generally known by the listless men and women who pass the fighting women by on the other side that this offence, being purely technical and imaginary, the policeman creates it at his will, and is the sole judge of what he will say constitutes obstruction. It is not infrequent to see the patient policeman standing for half an hour on the edge of a crowd, listening with interest to some street speaker amusing himself with the vehement assertion of national ruin or the vehement denunciation of authority. But he tires of the argument, or sees a pickpocket in the crowd, and he says, loudly, "Move on, please." Those words create the offence of obstruction *which did not before exist.* The speaker, engrossed with his subject, ignores the order, and is taken to the police-station, charged with "obstructing the police in the execution of their duty," "obstructing the traffic," or "being disorderly." On the way he slips in the gutter, and his foot touches the policeman's leg, or, to save himself, he catches hold of the policeman's belt. For this he may be charged with "assaulting the police." And the magistrate may give him a month *and there is no appeal.*

So no one can postulate in advance what the policeman may decide to call obstruction, or how or when he may decide to make the offence. Since January last militant ladies have been convicted of obstruction for selling violets in the streets, for having a barrel-organ which they were wheeling overturned and broken by some hooligan boys, for attempting to petition the King, for speaking in the streets, for trying to enter Hyde Park, and for trying to see Mr. Lloyd George. For three years before any stone was thrown the best of the women were sent to prison by hundreds for "obstructing the police" by marching in procession to Westminster, asking to see Mr. Asquith, with petitions for the King in their hands.

Thirteen times in all was this ghastly fiction played before the women, in despair, took to violence and threw stones. So little had they any desire for violence that late in 1908 Mrs. Pankhurst, taunted with the first window-breaking, answered, "Window-breaking is no part of our programme; we cannot always control our women."

Just consider for one moment under what circumstances this legal fiction has been used against these women. The London police are probably the finest body of men in the world—courageous, tactful, gentle, patient, kindly, sensible, where they are not, as they have been in this movement, encouraged to brutal violence and to extravagant perjury for political ends. But they are *very* few in number, and it is necessary that they should be trusted with enormous powers, and that their evidence should not be questioned as against the criminal class. When the women first came in contact with the fiction which was intended for street hooligans, the Ministers were wishful to crush an inconvenient political movement whose moral force they undervalued, and to represent the pioneers as unsexed and hysterical women. They failed to perceive, as politicians always do, the moral force behind the women. It did not suit the Press of either Party, with the rarest exceptions of honour, to put forward the true facts. The remedy for any indiscretion of the individual policeman acting under orders lay in the good sense and impartiality of the magistrate. He has utterly failed us.

In the matter of evidence, the policeman's word about the fiction has always been taken by the magistrate against any number of men or women of blameless character. A year or so ago, Miss Seruya was charged with "obstruction" by selling Votes for Women at the door of a theatre. She denied it, and brought five or six respectable witnesses (only women, to be sure) to support her. Sir A. de Rutzen, taking the word of the one policeman against them all, convicted her. Mr. Denman has lately carried the practice a little further, but not much further, by refusing the accused means of producing any witnesses in defence. Is it wonderful that quiet, ladylike women have been driven to violence? I would point out that one of the most remarkable facts in all the course of the police prosecution during seven years up to the present time has been that *no single independent witness has ever come forward to support the police charges of "obstruction" or assault.* And yet if ever evidence in support of a fiction were necessary it was here.

The strong point of the militant agitation is that the women did not take to violence until they had exhausted to the uttermost all peaceful means open to those who are without votes, such as the selling of papers and pamphlets, the holding of public and private meetings in houses, halls, and street corners, the asking of relevant questions at meetings where Ministers were holding forth about equality and privilege and the people and representation, and the attempts to petition the King through his Ministers. By means of this legal fiction of obstruction, aided by unmitigated lying, they were denied the exercise of these peaceful means, imprisoned for the use of them, and driven on to violence.

The whole question is summed up unwittingly by Sir Robert Anderson in "The Lighter Side of My Official Life" in "Blackwood's Magazine" for January, 1910. Speaking of the Irish Coercion Act, he defines it as being a statute which is "not a part of the general law . . . but a law which arms the police with powers unknown to the ordinary law, and sometimes foreign to the spirit of that law." He instances the arrest of a person loitering after sunset and giving an unsatisfactory account of himself who may on this be sent to hard labour for a month without appeal. "Monstrous!" he adds, "the reader will exclaim; no free people would ever tolerate such a law. As a matter of fact 7,000,000 of free people tolerate it, for it is a typical clause of the Police Acts under which the Metropolis has been governed for seventy years." He approves of it. "London, like Ireland, could not be governed without a Coercion Act."

This may or may not be true. But it does not alter the fact that politicians may by a fiction make use of these Police Laws to crush their political opponents. They have tried to do so in the Suffrage agitation, with the result that many hundreds of women who had no thought of violence have been driven in a purely political campaign to acts of violence which are a great danger to the community, which entirely overshadow their continued brave efforts at Constitutional agitation, and which are leading us on to revolution.

WHY I WENT TO PRISON

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

The direct cause of my imprisonment was the discourteous refusal of the Home Secretary to receive a duly appointed deputation from a responsible conference. This led me to think it necessary to appeal from him to the public by whom he is kept in office, and to take the first opportunity that presented itself by addressing the little group of persons who had gathered round us in the House of Commons. The precise events which followed are described elsewhere in this paper and I do not need to refer to them again here.

The indirect cause of my imprisonment is still more important. It was my indignation at the working of the infamous Cat and Mouse Act, an indignation aroused not on account of the injury that it is doing to Woman Suffrage but because it is revolting to my sense of humanity.

Nothing is more clear to me than that this Act, so far from delaying the enfranchisement of women, is every-day making fresh converts for the cause. No acts of the militant suffragists, no words of the most eloquent advocates of Woman Suffrage, are doing so much to impress the public.

The Cat and Mouse Act is all drama of the most intense description—the strained watching for the springs of the prison trap to unloose, followed by the day and night vigilance of detectives prowling about their prey, the wonderful escapes, the spectacular and exciting captures in public, and once again the suspense as the life of the captive hangs on its delicate thread. This kind of treatment would lend interest, emotion, and romance even to the dullest of all political creeds; how much more to the most elementary and easily understood of all political principles?

The Suffrage Movement does not lose anything by the Cat and Mouse Act. But every day that Act goes unrepealed, Mr. McKenna is losing for this country of ours the respect of the civilised world; the victims of this atrocious legal torture are losing their physical vitality and their very life; and we, who tolerate this condition of affairs, are losing our manhood and womanhood.

But, say objectors, "Crime must be put an end to." Certainly. The only way of stopping crime is to remove the causes of crime. That is sometimes a very difficult and complicated matter, but in the present instance a simple act of justice would solve the problem. The Liberal Government has only to put its own most elemental theory of political liberty and democracy into practice.

This is the simple expedient. But there is another. If these victims of the Cat and Mouse Act are criminals, let them be treated as such a criminal as Cargill was treated. If they have to be released from prison because they have been brought down to the edge of the grave, let them be released with a chance of life. If they are criminals of the deepest dye, the Cat and Mouse Act is too bad for them.

But the future will regard these men and women not as criminals, but as martyrs. We must remember that in the days of old the martyrs were put to death not because people and governments thought them too good to live, but because they were considered too bad or too mad to live.

If we ourselves are not to be found amongst the deserters and betrayers we must not stand by and see this iniquity wrought out to its final conclusion. We must raise our voice in solemn protest. And it is because I thought it necessary to do so that I have suffered imprisonment.

A NOVICE AS NEWSVENDOR

By a "Votes for Women" Fellow

When I heard that our Hon. Secretary had been arrested, my first impulse was to go and smash something or slay someone. My second was to sell Votes for Women in the street, a thing which I had never done before for various more or less—chiefly less—excellent reasons. The second impulse was the one I followed, and save for the haunting fear of what might be happening meanwhile in Holloway, the result was an afternoon full of great enjoyment and absorbing interest.

It was the afternoon of Saturday, July 26, and the Pilgrims were assembling to march to Hyde Park. In Montague Place everybody wanted to talk Suffrage except, naturally, the Pilgrims, who were busy with refractory banners, snapshots, hunting up missing comrades, and all the other incidents of an assembly. A policeman was full of the pluck and endurance of the hunger-strikers; *he* could not go without food and water for twenty-four hours even, he knew he could not. A chivalrous American wanted us to find some way of making our enemies suffer instead of ourselves. "I hate to see you women suffer," he kept repeating. There was the woman who "didn't hold with these burnings and never would," and the sceptical Socialist who was sure that the House of Commons would make all men alike, even if women *did* know how to choose the right sort to send there. One has read it all again and again, but it is so much more interesting to hear it at first hand. A lady objected to Suffrage societies because "there are so many, and all abusing each other and pulling different ways." It was lovely to have a Fellowship card ready for her, and to hear her admit that it met her difficulty. But all this conversation, absorbing as it was, did not promote the sale of the paper very much, so the next move was into Gower Street to persuade those who had come out on to their doorsteps to see the procession to become purchasers.

A kind face looked out of an upper window, and down came the maid in haste to buy two copies. Then a woman refused curtly, because she had no time for reading, and indeed her face suggested that drudgery had long ago driven all leisure and joyousness out of her life. We began to talk, and she owned to some sympathy with us, "though I don't like your methods." Her daughter, a girl in her early teens, was with her. "We all want to take care of children, like this one," I said, putting my hand on the child's shoulder. The mother's expressionless face softened and brightened. "I'll take a paper," she said suddenly. "I've refused a-many to-day, but I'll take your paper."

Several Kinds of Smile

More refusals and more welcome purchases, and then Tottenham Court Road, where everybody was too busy departing to happier haunts to think of Suffrage. So a motor-'bus made it possible to catch up the procession again, and close to Marble Arch the real fun began. "There's naething so funny as folk," an old North countryman once said in my hearing, and every passer-by was interesting. I never knew before how many different kinds of smile the human countenance can assume, and I have been trying to classify them ever since, with their meanings:—

A—the Smile Superior: "Lord, what fools these mortals be."

B—the Smile Derisive: "Don't you wish you may get it!"

C—the Smile Apologetic: "I would buy it if only I wasn't with these other fellows."

D—the Smile of the Good Comrade: "Keep the flag flying!"

One might go on for ever, but one smile must have a class all to itself. It came from an old lady. It was tender and holy; it said, "God bless you," and left the happy recipient "uplifted high in heart and hope."

Presently came a request for this week's *Suffragette*, and as none of us like to refuse a reasonable request—we leave that to the Government—a few copies had to be obtained from a comrade. Four little ragged boys, the eldest not more than seven or eight, caught sight of the cartoon and stopped to look. I held the picture conveniently for them, and they stood round in a little half-circle and gazed and gazed with an awe-struck look on their sharp little faces at the poor, gasping woman on her prison-bed. How much they understood I shall never know, for somebody burst out laughing at our comical little group, and the boys were off in a second. I do hope they will be chivalrous to women when they grow up; they looked so sorry for the woman in the picture.

When I was keeping my seventh birthday someone promised me sixpence for a birthday present and gave me half-a-crown. What untold wealth it represented, that half-crown! The feeling of ecstacy of that moment returned yesterday, when a man held out a penny for his paper, drew it back suddenly and substituted a two-shilling piece. He disappeared very hastily for fear of being thanked, and he left a very happy paper-seller behind him.

Another proud moment came when twenty-six copies had disappeared, and it became necessary to go back to the newsvendor for a fresh supply. Then more customers, more questions, more criticism, more good advice, more surprises. A lady passed with an emphatic refusal of the paper, then paused, and hurried back. "Yes, I will," she said, "because you all work so hard." That was particularly comforting, because earlier in the day I had been told sarcastically that if the "ole dear" (myself) would do the speaker's work for her even for one day she might think twice about Votes for Women; but there, I didn't know what work was—how could I?

Yesterday I did not know at all what selling in the street was like. My first attempt has helped me on towards a wider outlook and a deeper sympathy. That it has helped the Cause I can hardly believe; but I know it has helped the paper-seller.

L. C. L.

THREE PAMPHLETS

### Women's Need of Women Lawyers[*]

This pamphlet puts into a concise and readable form some of the main reasons why women should be admitted to the practice of the legal profession, and refutes some of those arguments most frequently put forward against this much-needed reform. The writer maintains that even if it be true that men are more inclined to be lenient to women than women themselves, yet this is no reason for continuing the present state of affairs—what women are asking for is fair play, "Justice is a far finer thing than privilege." University examinations have proved the capacity of women to deal with the theory of law, and whenever they have conducted their own cases they have done so with skill. The need for women lawyers is, in its way, as insistent as was that for women doctors.

The Soul of Women's Suffrage[†]

In his "Soul of Women's Suffrage" the Rev. Hugh Chapman sketches broadly the wider meaning of the Suffrage Movement. It is the result of evolution—the unwillingness of woman to be nothing but the appendage of man, her desire to become an entity on her own account. Politically, it is a necessary advance—for "all general advance is seriously menaced unless women are treated by the State as equal to men"; it will do more than anything else to raise the standard of the world's morals. Mr. Chapman calls on all who believe in the Women's Movement to come out and work for it, for "to believe in a thing and to hold back is treachery to oneself."

The Economic Aspect

In a well-considered pamphlet, "The Economic Aspect of Women's Suffrage,"[§] an Irish writer discusses the conditions under which women labour. Having shown these to be deplorable, and the wage altogether inadequate for the decent support of life, the author sets forth the inevitable results—prostitution and the encouragement of vice and disease. The writer shows very clearly that such reforms as the Married Women's Property Acts were only the righting of an age-long injustice perpetrated by men, and further reforms in the condition of women have been half-hearted and slow in the extreme The working-man has benefited since his enfranchisement, but the woman has not shared in his prosperity.

J. N.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"An Irish Gentleman. George Henry Moore." By Col. Maurice George Moore, C.B. (London: T. Werner Laurie. Price 16s. net.)

"The Three Hills, and Other Poems." By J. C. Squire. (London: Howard Latimer, Ltd. Price 2s. net.)

"The Eighth Year. The Dangerous Year of Marriage." By Philip Gibbs. (London: Williams and Norgate. Price 2s. net.)

"Vegetarian Directory and Food Reformers' Guide, 1913." (London: C. W. Daniel, Ltd. Price 1s.)

"Camping Sites. Complete Campers' Guide." (T. Macintyre Cullercoats, Northumberland. Price 3d.)

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[*] "Women's Need of Women Lawyers." By a Woman LL.B. of T.C.D. (Irishwomen's Reform League, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin. 1d.)

[†] "The Soul of Woman's Suffrage." By the Rev. Hugh B. Chapman. (Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation. Reprint. 1d.)

[§] "The Economic Aspect of Women's Suffrage." By Ephedros Irishwomen's Reform League, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin. 1d.)

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Colours: Purple, White, and Red. Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

Votes for Women Fellows have been profoundly moved during the past week by the arrest and imprisonment of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence; and many and various expressions of sympathy and indignation have been forwarded to the Editors, all of which have been very welcome.

We naturally value especially those expressions which have taken practical shape. Several Fellows have made additional efforts at selling the paper with marked success. The experiences of a novice in this direction are given in another column of the present page. All those who try this method of working for the Movement find that not only do they achieve their immediate object of educating the public through the written word, but also that they are enabled with advantage to get into personal contact with many of their customers.

Others have been busy enrolling new members of the Fellowship, and we have to record a large number of new names during the past week. We take this opportunity of emphasising once more the fact that the Votes for Women Fellowship is not a Suffrage society and that therefore it is not, as a body, committed to any definite policy or action, not even to the action taken by one of the Editors of the paper at the House of Commons last week. It exists for the purpose of spreading the knowledge of the Movement, militant and constitutional, and of making both Suffragists and the general public cognisant of the underlying causes which have prompted the actions of the different Suffrage societies. Among the new names of members who have joined us during the past week is that of Mrs. D. A. Thomas, whose strong support of the Suffrage Movement during recent years is well known to all. Another Fellow joins us from Jamaica, where she is starting a branch of the Suffrage Movement, and has induced a newsagent to stock and sell Votes for Women. It will be remembered, that, but for the intervention of the Home Government through the official members of the Council, Jamaica would by this time be an equal suffrage country.

A Meeting of Welcome

Several requests have been made by Fellows to have a special meeting to welcome Mrs. Lawrence on her return from prison; after careful consideration we have decided that the present is too unsuitable a time of year to adopt their suggestion, and instead we invite them to keep the date, Thursday, October 16, free, when as already announced the next Fellowship reunion will take place; and when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the Bishop of Kensington, and others will speak. Further particulars of the meeting will be given in these columns from time to time.

In the coming holiday weeks there are many services to the Cause which Fellows can render. First and foremost is the duty of bringing the paper and the Fellowship to the notice of new people and securing both new readers and new Fellows. Membership cards will be sent to any address on application to the Hon. Secretary to this effect, together with stamps to defray postage.

A Valuable Way to Help

There is also another way in which the paper can be brought, with the help of Fellows, to the notice of the outside public, and that is through being shown in the public rooms of hotels. We have already the permission of many proprietors to exhibit it regularly during the holiday months if we send it to them post free; but this method involves considerable expense. We therefore specially invite contributions to the Fellowship to be used for this purpose.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Thanks to the many "Fellows" who came forward to sell at Saturday's demonstration. We all thought of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's last words as she was being driven away to Holloway, "Have a good sale," and we sold very many hundreds along each processional route and at the various gates of the Park. Will not those who then sold for the first time, having made the plunge, now join the permanent sellers; and will not sellers induce others to help in this work, so that we may have a goodly army when the holidays are over? Will all who hope to help us then send in their names and addresses, with times etc., available, as soon as possible?

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To July 26, 1913)

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	800	2	4
"A Friend of the Cause"	0	1	0
Mrs. Inlack	0	2	0
Miss Leaborne......	0	1	0
Miss M. Paton	0	1	6
Miss A. Dawson	0	0	8
Miss V. M. Fisher ..	0	5	0
Hon. P. M. Coleridge	0	5	0
Miss L. I. Lurnsden	0	1	0
Mrs. Pollard.........	0	2	6
Mrs. Miller	0	5	0
Mrs. Warden	0	10	0
Miss Turnbull	0	6	0
Extra on Votes per Miss Wroughton ..	0	1	6
C. Bradsworth Esq.	0	5	0
The Rt. Rev. Lord Bishop of Kensington	1	1	0
Mrs. Warren	0	1	0
Miss E. Warren	0	1	0
J. Warren Esq.	0	1	0
Miss C. Thomson....	0	2	0
Mrs. Richards	0	1	8
Mrs. Wells	0	5	0
Miss E. Luck	1	5	0
Miss C. Fraser......	0	9	3
Miss I. M. W. Thomas	0	1	0
Mrs. Murch	0	1	0
Mrs. McLeod	0	1	0
Miss Roberts	0	2	4
Miss M. E. Thompson	0	0	8
F. Husband Esq.....	0	2	6
Miss L. Munro-Reid	0	2	6
Miss M. L. Martin ..	0	5	0
Miss M. Anderson ..	0	2	6
Mrs. Hewat	0	1	0
Miss J. R. Walton ..	0	1	0
Miss E. McCullough	0	1	0
Miss E. Hooton-Smith	0	2	6
Total......	£807	0	5

SCENE IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Sylvia Pankhurst's Challenge and Arrest

From Our Special Correspondent

The suffragettes of Bow, the Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, and the East London Federation of the W.S.P.U. are to be congratulated on the magnificent mass meeting of protest which they organised in Trafalgar Square on Sunday afternoon. A huge and conspicuously working-class crowd gathered early to welcome the long procession as it marched into the Square with colours flying, singing the Marseillaise, and it was evident that throughout the afternoon the men and women who made spirited denunciatory speeches from each side of the column had the entire sympathy of their audience. Looking down from the plinth one saw the people packed in a solid mass almost back to the wall, where a long line of policemen sat waiting, while the wall above them and the streets on either side were lined with spectators. They were tensely expectant.

Where was the chief speaker, Sylvia Pankhurst? It was everybody's question. Would she really appear, and if so, how could she possibly reach the plinth unobserved? There were few policemen immediately around the column—their forces were massed in the side streets, waiting in case Miss Pankhurst should carry out her threat — but everywhere, through the crowd, and on the plinth itself, were plain clothes men. Eager eyes scanned, almost despairingly, the impossible means of approach through the dense crowds, west, east, and north, and the men and women on the plinth asked each other, "How is she coming? Where shall we wait to be sure of seeing her?" Meanwhile Sylvia Pankhurst, got up to look like a rather battered American tourist, thickly veiled, with a small, dark hat jammed over her eyes and otherwise disguised, was sitting on the tail of one of Landseer's lions, those noble British beasts which look so imposingly solid, and which resound with such metallic emptiness when thwacked. She was conserving every scrap of her shattered energy for her great effort. All about her were dockers from Bow, small, stocky men, determined and full of fight, convinced that when the time came they could not only get to Downing Street themselves, but that they could carry their valiant leader with them.

A Great Ovation

It was on the northern platform, facing the thickest mass, that she at last made her appearance, receiving a tremendous ovation from the crowd as she stood swaying dangerously on the very edge, surrounded by a bodyguard who were fiercely suspicious of every stranger. One would have liked to know what the plain clothes men said when they realised they had once more been outwitted. It was clear that the people were divided by admiration for the girl's pluck, and an intense pity for her weakness.

Sylvia Pankhurst wasted no time. She went straight to the point:

"We have not come here to talk," she said, "but to hold a council of war. The time for argument is passed, and we want deeds. I went to prison because I gave good advice, and I shall have to go back again unless you help me to stop out. They put me in prison because a fortnight ago I asked you to go down to Downing Street to the Prime Minister's house. I ask that again. I have here papers, declarations of independence, signed by men and women in East London demanding the vote for women this year. I want you to resolve that we carry these declarations to Downing Street, and I ask all of you to take part in the struggle. Go to the people who are responsible. Don't content yourselves with cheering merely, but get inside that house."

The resolution was carried with a great white show of hands, and then with a cry of "Come with me!" Miss Pankhurst disappeared from view. She was swept by her bodyguard across to the west side where there were now no speakers, and down into the Square with such a sudden movement that the police were taken completely by surprise. One solitary helmet could be seen struggling to reach that little dark hat surrounded by caps before the street was reached, and lines of police sprang up across the end of Charing Cross, but the men succeeded in fighting their way as far as the Horse Guards before ten policemen reached them, and after that, right down Whitehall, through the cordon of police drawn across the street (it was here that for a moment her friends thrust her into a taxi-cab), men and police fought for Sylvia Panhurst, until just past Downing Street, where another cordon of police was drawn up, the police conquered. Bystanders, who saw her dragged to Cannon Row gave a pitiful description of her, her hair streaming down, her arms twisted back. She stumbled with weakness, they said, and when she stumbled the police would jerk her up again roughly.

There was no fighting in Trafalgar Square, for the crowd had immediately emptied itself into the two wide roads leading to Whitehall. There was fierce skirmishing—which I did not see—where the last cordon of police was drawn up, and smaller fights elsewhere. One of the most exciting scenes took place near Downing Street, where the police stopped a motor-'bus and arrested a woman whom they carried off to Cannon Row. This must be said for the police, that having once more bungled their business they made up for it by a display of belated energy, by the vigour with which they moved on quite inoffensive spectators, and the roughness with which they haled their prisoners off to the station, a roughness that to an unusual degree provoked the indignation of the onlookers.

SEEN FROM THE PLINTH

By 3.30 the Square was crowded. By 4.30 it was crammed as I have never seen it since the Unemployed riots of the 'eighties, or since Bradlaugh's demand to take his seat as an elected Member.

The steps of the National Gallery were full; the terrace was lined with people; on the Square itself one could hardly move for the crowd. And the whole of that enormous multitude was on our side. There was hardly an exception; or if there was an exception, he kept his opinions to himself. There was no question about the feeling of the crowd. Even the Government papers have not questioned it. I doubt if any Trafalgar Square crowd of that size has been so unanimous and so deeply moved. Some of the papers have called it a "mob." Very well, a "mob" only means a large and enthusiastic crowd that does not agree with the man who calls it so. It cannot imply disorder, for never was a crowd more orderly till the police began their loathsome task.

The Change of Mood

What made the change from the violent opposition we had to endure in the Park only two or three months ago? In the first place, a different class of people had come to the Square—a serious and hard-working class, free from the snobbery and lascivious prepossessions of the West End shopwalkers and men about town, and the Antis had not dared to muster their filthy-minded hooligans. Again, the barbarity of the Cat and Mouse Act has struck very deep into the mind of the ordinary man and woman. In the long record of this Government's errors, I doubt if any error has done our cause so much good as this. A great deal also is due to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's action in throwing herself upon the genuine chivalry and good sense of the workers in the East End. I think that was a stroke of genius. We have all the working classes now, not only favourable, but zealous.

The Audience

At 4.30 the procession from the East End entered the Square. With banners flying, it forced its way into the dense throng, all singing the women's Marseillaise. The speaking began. As chairman on the west plinth I can tell only of what was before me. Mine was probably the smallest audience, but I never spoke to a larger crowd, or to one more entirely sympathetic. Detectives took their notes in peace, but not a voice was raised against us. At every sentence any speaker who renewed the demand for the Vote, or denounced the Cabinet and their detested Act, could awaken an answering cheer. When an immense outburst of applause showed that Miss Sylvia Pankhurst had appeared on the northern plinth, the temptation of the audience to push round was very strong. But it was our charge to hold them, and, thanks to the speakers, especially to Mrs. Walker, the eloquent Poplar laundress, we held them.

The Gallant Attempt

There was a pause suddenly at the corner of our plinth, a movement. A body of men surrounded a woman's figure. I could only see a purple hat. They dropped over the edge on to the level, Closing tightly round, they forced their way through the line of police. We could see them driving their wedge through the throng towards Parliament Street. Then the crowds broke into confusion, and we traced them no further. Far away down Whitehall we could see the cordons of police forming, line after line. But still, bands of men and women seemed to break through them. How we longed that the victim of so infamous an Act should escape! Outside the muddy wits and petrified hearts of official Liberalism, I suppose not a human being in this country but would have joined in the longing.

The Turning-Point

She did not escape. The Government drove another nail into its own coffin by re-arresting her. But the spirit of that meeting marks a turning-point. After the Battle of Valmy, when the national troops of the French Revolution held in check the hirelings of official Europe, Goethe said to his friends: "To-day marks a turning-point in history, and we can say we were present at it." We who were in the Square last Sunday can say the same.

H. W. N.

TWENTY-FOUR ARRESTS

Eleven men and thirteen women arrested after the Trafalgar Square meeting on Sunday were brought before Sir John Dickinson at Bow Street on Monday and Wednesday.

They were charged chiefly with obstructing the police, insulting behaviour, and assault, and the following sentences were inflicted:—

Miss Evelyn Billings—40s.
Miss Gwendoline Cook and Mrs. Alice Rose—5 days in default of finding sureties.
Miss Catherine Jarvis—40s.; fine paid anonymously.
Mrs. Mary Pascoe—a month on each of two charges.
Miss Jane Fall—bound over for 12 months.
Miss Eva Watson—20s.
Miss Frances Dickenson— 7 days on each of two charges.
Miss Dulcie West—21 days.
Miss Maud Joachim—40s.
And an unknown woman (name not given).
Mrs. Alice Brown—5 days in default of finding sureties.
Mrs. D. Cole—discharged with a caution.
Charles Webber—refused to be bound over; five days in default.
William J. Palmer and George Carter—20s. or a month.
Lucien Deshled—refused to be bound over; sentence deferred.
Ben Gomm—discharged.
Chas. Green—discharged.
Joe Harrison—fined 20s. or ten days.
William Young—refused to be bound over; sentence deferred.
Sentences against J. Macpherson, J. Booty, and Albert Jamrach were not to hand when we went to press.

RELEASE OF MRS. PANKHURST

Mrs. Pankhurst, who was arrested at the London Pavilion on the previous Monday, was released from Holloway on Thursday evening at about 6 o'clock. She was driven in a motor-ambulance to her flat in Little Smith Street, where Dr. Flora Murray was awaiting her.

Mrs. Pankhurst's condition on her release was very serious; three doctors were called in for consultation that night, and so critical did they consider her state that they deemed it necessary to have recourse to transfusion. This operation, which consists in taking the blood of a healthy person and injecting it into the veins of the patient, is only resorted to in cases of extreme weakness where life is in danger. It was not until Sunday that Mrs. Pankhurst was declared to be out of danger. We understand that since the Pavilion meeting Mrs. Pankhurst has disappeared from her flat at Westminster, and it is thought likely that she has gone into the country to recuperate.

Mrs. Pankhurst, whose present licence expired yesterday (Thursday), was sentenced on April 3 to three years' penal servitude. She was released on April 12, re-arrested on May 26; released May 30, re-arrested June 14; released on June 16, and re-arrested again on July 21. She has, therefore, served about three weeks of her sentence.

SCENES AT THE PAVILION

The Pavilion meeting last Monday fully justified the eager anticipations of the crowd who filled the hall. Miss Kenney, "disguised," as she chose to put it, spoke for close on half an hour. Her very presence on the platform was a striking retort to the Government declaration that the Cat and Mouse Bill is working splendidly. In the event of her licence being cut down to one or two days she declared her intention of refusing to consider herself discharged, and of adopting a patient hunger-vigil outside the prison gates.

Appearance of Mrs. Pankhurst

The Canon of Hereford had barely concluded his speech on the White Slave Traffic when cheer after cheer burst from the waving crowd as Mrs. Pankhurst was wheeled on to the platform, Nurse Smith at her side. She was looking terribly weak and bloodless—it was absolutely against the doctor's orders that she came—but the old vigour was in her voice as she spoke a few words to the hushed meeting. Low and slightly halting came the words, but so clear that even the farthest listener could hear distinctly. "The fight is nearly over, the end is at hand—a few months more and the spirit of the crowd that followed Sylvia Pankhurst down Whitehall, that prompted the Members to cheer Miss Nina Boyle from the Terrace of the House, will have found some definite expression which the Government will no longer be able to deny." With the brave assurance, "I shall be with you next Monday," Mrs. Pankhurst was wheeled away, whilst her licence was put up for auction and sold to an Irish lady for £100.

Miss Kenney Arrested

Outside the meeting a staff of detectives and police were waiting, and when Miss Kenney came out at the main entrance she was promptly recognised and arrested. A bodyguard of women, assisted by a number of men, did all in their power to rescue her, but the police were too powerful to be beaten off. Twice Miss Kenney nearly eluded her captors, but ultimately, in the midst of a struggling mass of people, she was half-dragged, half-carried to a taxi-cab in the middle of the roadway and driven off to Holloway.

AT MARLBOROUGH STREET

Charges of obstruction and assault arising out of the disturbance outside the Pavilion on the previous afternoon, when Miss Kenney was re-arrested, were heard at Marlborough Street on Tuesday. Harry Bach, a traveller, was fined 20s. or 14 days; Harry Ryan, a painter, was given 21 days' hard labour; and Michael Scully, a labourer, was fined 40s. or 21 days. All the defendants complained of ill-treatment at the hands of the police.

Miss Mary Richardson, who was arrested at the same time did not appear, as after her release on bail she was arrested for committing damage at Holloway, and had been brought up at the North London Police Court earlier in the day.

SUFFRAGISTS UNDER THE CAT AND MOUSE ACT

Name.	Sentenced.	Released.	Re-arrested.
Miss Stevenson	March 5	April 29	Missing
Mr. Franklin	„ 8	„ 28	„
Mrs. Pankhurst	April 3	(1) April 12	May 26
		(2) May 30	June 14
		(3) June 16	July 21
		(4) July 24	Missing
Miss Brady	April 15	April 12	„
Miss Dean	„	„	„
*Mrs. Baines	May 5	(1) May 12	July 10
		(2) July 20	—
Miss Thomson (Scotch)	May 19	May 23	Missing
Miss A. Scott „	„	(1) May 24	June 12
		(2) June 16	Missing
Miss Hudson „	„	May 25	„
Mrs. Palmer (Irish)	May 26	June 18	—
Mrs. Ryan „	„	„	—
Miss Walsh „	„	„	—
Miss Kenney	June 17	(1) June 21	July 2
		(2) July 5	July 14
		(3) July 18	July 28
Miss Kerr	„	June 25	—
Mrs. Sanders	„	(1) June 23	July 9
		(2) July 11	—
Miss Barrett	„	(1) June 21	July 2
		(2) July 5	July 17
		(3) July 21	—
Miss Lake	„	July 22	July 2
Miss Lennox	„	(1) „	June 29
		(2) July 3	—
Mr. Clayton	„	June 23	Missing
Mrs. Shaw	June 21	June 27	„
*Miss Marion	July 3	(1) July 8	July 12
		(2) July 17	—
Miss Giveen	„	July 10	Missing
Miss Sylvia Pankhurst	July 8	July 12	July 27
Miss Lenton	Com. for trial, June 9	June 17	Missing
*Miss Mary Richardson	July 8	June 12	July 17
		July 23	July 29
†Mrs. Mackworth	July 11	July 16	—
Mrs. Wyan	July 15	July 18	July 24
		July 29	—
Mr. Robson Paige	July 15	July 20	—
Mrs. Rigby	Remanded:	(1) July 16	July 17
	Sentenced July 30	(2) July 22	July 29
Miss Kathleen Nicholson	July 22	July 23	—
Miss Florence Ward	„	July 29	—
Miss Nellie Hall	„	„	—
Miss Louisa Shepherd	„	„	—
"Eliza"	„	„	—
Miss Mary Gray	„	July 28	—
Mr. Harry Johnson	July 23	July 27	—

* Arrested on another charge. † Fine paid anonymously.

MATERNITY BENEFIT FOR WIVES

Women's Claim Acknowledged

An important new clause providing that maternity benefit should be paid to the wife—not, as at present, to the husband—was read a second time without a division on Friday at a sitting of the Standing Committee of the House of Commons which is considering the Insurance Act Amendment Bill. Efforts to amend it were afterwards made, a suggestion that it should be made optional for the Approved Societies to pay the benefit to the husband or wife at their discretion being rejected.

In Committee

Mr. G. Locker-Lampson moved a new clause to secure that maternity benefit should in every case be the mother's benefit, and that the payment of the money should be made to the mother or "some woman nominated by her." There was nothing, he said, at present to prevent the husband spending part or all of the money on himself.

Mr. Masterman acknowledged that it was quite true there was a certain amount of abuse of the maternity benefit, but the extent of that abuse was a matter of controversy. The percentage of cases of abuse in relation to the general total was not great. He believed if this Clause were carried there would be great resentment among the working classes.

Mr. G. Roberts spoke in support of an amendment which he had on the paper to allow an approved society, if they thought that the maternity benefit might be abused, to pay it to the mother, whose receipt should be a sufficient discharge. He urged that they might trust the approved societies in the matter, but he objected to Parliament laying it down that the husband should have no hand in the administration of the benefit. There should be no unnecessary interference by the State between a man and his wife.

Sir H. Craik remarked that they had to put right a crying wrong done to women, and he did not think the better class of working people would resent this proposal, and Mr. Booth added that if the husband misspent the money he misspent something which did not belong to him, but if the wife misspent it she was, at all events, misspending her own money.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said he thought they should be very careful how they allowed the money to be paid to a third party, for that would open the door widely to maladministration.

Mr. Lawson declared that it was in the highest degree expedient and necessary that they should lay down the principal that the maternity benefit was the woman's benefit. (Cheers.)

Optional Payment

After some further discussion Mr. Lockyer-Lampson's new clause was read a second time, and Mr. Roberts' amendment, making payment to the mother optional for the approved societies, was then moved as an amendment to it.

Sir P. Magnus contended that the amendment involved a responsibility which friendly societies could not discharge.

Mr. C. Bathurst said that all the women's societies insisted that the money should go to the mother without any discretion to the society. To make the clause permissive might rob it of all effect.

Mr. Roberts' amendment was defeated by 28 votes to 10. The members of the Government present did not vote.

Administration of the Benefit

On Monday the Committee discussed the administrative means whereby the decision arrived at on Friday could be carried into effect.

An amendment, proposed by Mr. Chiozza Money, to delete the words "or some other person nominated by her" from Mr. Locker-Lampson's Clause was carried by 34 votes to 11, Mr. Masterman pointing out that representatives of approved societies stated that if the maternity benefit were paid to a third person (other than the husband or wife) it would be almost impossible to check the receipts.

Ultimately, after considerable discussion, it was pointed out that the Committee had decided that this was to be the mother's money, and it was suggested that they should leave the administrative arrangements to be dealt with before the Report stage.

Mr. Masterman said that was a good suggestion. He would accept the decision of the Committee so far as it had gone that maternity benefit was to be the mother's benefit, and that it was to be paid to her in some fashion, and he would endeavour to find out what administrative changes would most satisfactorily carry out that proposal.

A WARNING

It has come to the notice of the Committee of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement that a man is going about among Suffragists impersonating Mr. Victor D. Duval, and the Committee wishes to warn the public against this impostor.

PAVEMENT PROTEST AGAINST UNJUST CONVICTION

Mrs. Mary Wyan was released from Holloway Gaol under the "Cat and Mouse" Act shortly before four o'clock on Tuesday, and was conveyed in a taxi-cab by two wardresses to a nursing home at Campden Hill Terrace. On arrival Mrs. Wyan, who was in a very weak state, resolutely refused to enter, and said she intended to remain outside until her full release was granted. The wardresses left her on the pavement, and friends provided her with a chair and cloaks. Soon after midnight the police brought up an ambulance and removed her, still protesting, first to the Kensington Police Station and thence to the Infirmary.

In an interview Mrs. Wyan said: "I was taken up and convicted on the evidence of one policeman. I protested against it before the magistrate, but I was sent to Holloway Gaol for fourteen days. As a protest I hunger-struck, and was released after three days. My licence expired on July 24, and I went to Holloway to ask for my discharge. They again arrested me. This morning when I was told I was released under the 'Cat and Mouse' Act I refused to leave, and they brought me here by force."

WINDOWS BROKEN AT HOLLOWAY

Shortly before eleven o'clock on Monday night a taxi-cab containing women carrying Suffragist colours proceeded slowly up Camden Road, Holloway, followed by a crowd wearing Suffragist badges. The taxi stopped outside Holloway Prison, and an informal meeting was held.

The speaking had scarcely commenced when two blank shots were fired in the crowd, and a minute or two afterwards there was a sound of breaking glass. Without delay police climbed the prison fence, and in a few minutes a woman was taken into custody and removed to Kentish Town Police Station.

The meeting proceeded, and while one speaker was exclaiming that many of their comrades had been wrongly convicted and sent to that prison, there was a sound of more smashing of glass, and shortly afterwards another arrest was effected.

TWO MONTHS FOR WINDOW-BREAKING

Miss Mary Richardson and Miss Kathleen Jarvis were sentenced to *two months' hard labour* at the North London Police Court on Tuesday. The charge was that of damaging two panes of glass at the houses of the Medical Officer and Governor of Holloway Prison on the previous night. Miss Richardson, on leaving the dock, said she had had four sentences this month, and had refused to do any of them.

Four Months for Assault on Police

William Stevenson, a labourer, was then charged with disorderly conduct and assaulting two constables in the execution of their duty. He was sentenced to *four months' imprisonment with hard labour.*

THE PRIME MINISTER'S WINDOWS

At Bow Street Police Court on Tuesday Miss Lucy Wilson and Joseph Convery, who on Monday afternoon each threw a stone at 10, Downing Street, the official residence of the Prime Minister, breaking a small window, were fined 20s. each and ordered to pay the damage or undergo ten days' imprisonment in the second division.

SCENE IN THE HOUSE

There was a demonstration in the House on Wednesday night (July 23) during a discussion on the working of the Cat and Mouse Act while the Home Office vote was under consideration.

Mr. Keir Hardie had criticised the administration of the Act and Mr. McKenna had risen to reply. Before he had uttered a half-dozen words the crack of a pistol was heard in the Strangers' Gallery. In a moment the interrupter was pounced upon by plain-clothes officers and others in the gallery and dragged out by the scruff of the neck.

The incident caused a mild sensation for a few moments, members rising in their seats and stepping into the gangway to view the commotion above.

PRAISE FOR WOMEN FACTORY INSPECTORS

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, during the Committee stage on the Home Office Vote on Wednesday, said that there was a regrettable deficiency in the number of women factory inspectors, and he further strongly urged the appointment of working women factory inspectors. Mr. Morrell also considered that there was urgent necessity for the appointment of additional women inspectors.

Mr. Hills bore testimony to the first-rate work of the women inspectors, who, he said, put the men to shame. For certain work one woman was worth ten men.

AN OPINION FROM MALAYA

It is interesting to see what Englishmen in the remote colonies think of the present political situation in England as regards Women's Suffrage. The following extracts are taken from a letter published recently in the *Times of Malaya*, which is too long to print in full:—

"Public opinion is now so clearly made up on the subject of the woman's vote, that it would seem only waste of time, perhaps impertinence, to add anything to what has been so often and so forcibly said; but there are one or two points to which I would like to call attention.

"The case of Miss Davison is an incident which will rank as historical. It is an act of supreme heroism. The parallel in my mind is the case of the men who put an end to the gladiatorial combats, one of the great achievements of Christianity. In 403 an Eastern monk, Telemachus, who had come to Rome for the express purpose of protesting against the exhibition, rushed into the arena and separated the combatants. He was set upon by the officials and spectators and killed on the spot, but a general feeling of disapproval was aroused, and after a time these cruel spectacles ceased."

Turning to the question of militancy, the writer says:—"If the enfranchisement of women does in fact result from these methods, it will be difficult to say to what extent the action of the woman who obtained such a mighty result was wrong. Wrong by ordinary legal, political and moral standards, but great movements are not always so judged, more especially if they be successful."

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

An Historical Parallel and its Lesson

We were glad to see a letter pointing out the analogy between the political situation in 1829 and 1913, appearing in the *Hampshire Post* recently. In the course of his letter, Colonel H. B. Hanna said:

"The political situation to-day is singularly like that prevailing in 1829. To-day the country is divided on the question of the emancipation of women—in 1829 it was divided in the question of the emancipation of the Catholics; to-day a form of civil war has begun—in 1829 civil war was imminent; to-day Mr. Asquith is opposed to the enfranchisement of women—up to the beginning of 1829 the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister, was opposed to the enfranchisement of Catholics.

"Here the historical parallel ends, and the lesson begins.

"One of the most striking features of the Duke of Wellington's character was his moral courage; he never obstinately adhered to an opinion in defiance of common sense." In order to avoid civil war the Duke gave way, and prevailed on the Lords to pass the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act. Colonel Hanna continues:

"No one, now looking back to those stormy days, will be surprised that the Bill became law, but rather that the measure of relief had been so long withheld. Should not, then, this episode in our history be an object-lesson to Mr. Asquith and his ministers, and convince them that the true remedy for the present state of things is to be found not in force, but in conciliation?"

WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Women's Local Government Society have re-issued two valuable leaflets dealing with the registration of women electors for local government bodies and the qualifications necessary for women candidates. We advise all persons wishing to obtain a clear understanding of these somewhat complicated matters (especially where married women are concerned) to apply to the Hon. Secretary of the Women's Local Government Society, 19, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.

TAX RESISTANCE

Mrs. Harvey, of Brackenhill, Bromley, whose house is barricaded against the tax collector, and who on July 21 was sentenced, because of her refusal to pay National Insurance tax, to one month's imprisonment in default of distraint, was on July 28 again summoned before the Bromley Police Court for refusing to pay the licence of her man-servant, Asquith. Miss Nina Boyle, who assisted Mrs. Harvey with her case, said that her defence was not based on any legal quibble or evasion, but upon a fundamental principle of the Constitution, as from the days of Edward I. it had been illegal to tax the unrepresented, and until a quite recent date, towns and boroughs that did not send a representative to Parliament could claim exemption from taxation. Special costs were again asked for against Mrs. Harvey, and if no distraint was possible one month in prison in the second division.

MRS. MACWORTH'S FINE

The statement in the daily papers that rather than return to prison under the "Cat and Mouse" Act Mrs. Macworth preferred to pay her fine is incorrect. The fine was paid for her, entirely against her wish, by a person unknown.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—I write on behalf of my husband and myself to express our great indignation at the news in this morning's paper of the arrest of Mrs. Lawrence. We do not need to be assured that she was entirely justified in whatever action she took, and that she and her friends did not receive fair play from the hands of the police. To prove our sympathy, we will try to get new Fellows for your Society and to distribute copies of Votes for Women. We should also like to express our disgust at the recent action of the Reform Club Committee in refusing to reinstate Mr. Lawrence.—Assuring you of our sympathy, yours, &c., K. White.

Streatham Hill.

A GOOD ADVERTISEMENT

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—Yesterday I unintentionally made a good advertisement for Votes for Women. I was waiting for the Streatham tram on the Embankment, and I observed a vendor of newspapers displayed a Votes for Women board. Although I take it in, I always make a point of buying it and the *Suffragette* whenever I see them for sale to benefit the cause and encourage the sellers, so I asked him for one. He was an agreeable person, a suffragist, I am sure. He did not treat me to any of the contemptuous sniffs one usually gets from the Anti-at-heart, who sells the paper for business reasons and takes care to explain that he only happened to have that copy by chance. My newspaper man found he had not one left, but he assured me his "pal," some little distance off, would have one. I could not leave my stopping post, so I said it did not matter. However, the energetic newspaper seller was not going to lose that pennyworth of custom for the firm, and, to my alarm, he started roaring "Votes for Women" at the top of his voice to the "pal." Naturally, everyone started, and even the people on the other side of the road, scenting a new "militant outrage," stopped to see the fun. No one connected me with the affair until the "pal" came racing up waving Votes in the air ,and handed it to me in return for the penny. I was thankful to see my tram bearing down upon us, and I scuttled in.—Yours, &c., "Regular Reader."

PLEASE NOTE

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Madam,—I should be much obliged if you could find room for this letter. I am doing pioneer Suffragist work in a bush district of Canada, but am handicapped by having no organisation or funds. A friend at home sends me the Suffragist papers, but I am in need of a few books for distribution. There has recently been formed a travelling library in connection with the Women's Institute—a Canadian Women's Society, Government aided—and I should very much like to introduce into this such books as "Women and Economics," "Where are You Going To?" "The Subjection of Women," &c.

If any of your readers could spare copies of these, or similar books or pamphlets, I should be grateful indeed. They would be read by women within a radius of thirty miles. This would include one small town, which will be a city within a few years, and four or five villages, besides all the outlying settlements. The nearest Suffrage Society is 200 miles away, but I hope that in time sufficient educational work will have been done in this district to form a Society here.—Yours, &c.,

(Mrs.) Ella Darlington.

Barnhart (Rainy River District), New Ontario, Canada.

DIVORCE LAW REFORM

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—It is not much of a surprise to those who know the present Government to learn that the Parliamentary session will end without a discussion of the Majority Report of the Divorce Commission. Ever since the report was presented the Government has been afraid to give it attention. The "early days" promised for its discussion have all been evaded.

A consensus of opinion—of lay opinion, at least—is in favour of an amended Bill, for it is felt that the dictates of justice, humanity, and common sense cannot be exercised under the present law. Even the Law Society, the least sentimental of organisations, has put in a plea for Divorce Reform. But still the Government wavers. Is this another of the questions in which it awaits a mandate from the country? If mandates are in request, why not seek one as regards its own capacity for dealing with important social reforms.—Yours, &c., C. King.

North Cornwall.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge
President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

One of the most extraordinary incidents in a movement distinguished for remarkable occurrences took place on Thursday, July 24. The Conference in connection with the Cat and Mouse Act had been held in the Caxton Hall, and a memorial embodying the findings of the Conference drawn up. A deputation, strictly constitutional in character, and in charge of Sir Edward Busk, was then appointed to convey the memorial to the Government. For some reason unknown—probably mere carelessness—the doors of the House of Commons were shut in the face of Mrs. Cecil Chapman, who formed one of the deputation. The others were already inside, and Sir Edward Busk, seeing Mrs. Chapman outside, called out for her to enter. Upon her attempting to do so, she was seized roughly by a constable and subjected to the most violent treatment, her gold chain being broken to bits in the process. Meanwhile Members of Parliament—public servants, paid out of the pockets of women as well as men—looked on, tacitly encouraging by their insolent attitude the hysterical and unlawful behaviour of the police! There can be no doubt that in these days the merest hint of suffrage is sufficient to give the "force," as well as the Cabinet, an attack of "nerves." The question to be faced is whether these public officers are to be allowed to take the law into their own hands, or to be held responsible for their actions? If their behaviour to voteless women is to go unchallenged a very dangerous precedent may be established for the future.

ASHFORD CAMPAIGN. — A very successful open-air campaign was held at Ashford last week. Dinner-hour meetings were held outside the works of the G.E. and C. Railway, the employees listening with the greatest interest and sympathy. Evening meetings were held in the High Street. Large crowds gathered nightly, giving the most cordial and attentive hearing to the speakers. Ashford, at any rate, seems absolutely whole-hearted for women's suffrage!

HOLIDAYS.—The office, which will be closed for the holidays during August, will be re-opened on September 1.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, St. James' Street. S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
—9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road. Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Votes for Women Fellowship,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League.
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

A reader of Votes for Women writes to tell us that "seeing the advertisement of the Vacuum Cleaner Company in Votes for Women, she bought a vacuum cleaner which is most satisfactory."

IN THE COURTS

Friday, July 25.—At Bow Street Police Court, before Sir J. Dickinson, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Sybil Smith, and Miss Evelyn Sharp; charged with obstruction; 14 days each; sentences afterwards changed to 4 days.

Saturday, July 26.—At Bow Street Police Court, the Commissioner of Police summoned to show cause why he should not deliver up money to the value of £300 seized from the W.S.P.U. offices; hearing adjourned.

At Manchester, before the Stipendiary Magistrate; Mr. and Mrs. Baines and son and Miss Wallwork; charged with causing an explosion on a railway siding; hearing proceeding, bail allowed.

Monday, July 28.—At Marlborough Police Court, before Mr. Denman, Major H. F. Fisher; charged with assaulting two detectives: summons withdrawn. Summons against Sergeant Cox for assaulting Mrs. Cook also withdrawn.

At Westminster Police Court, before Mr. Francis, charged with breaking the windows of Mr. McKenna's house; Miss Hannah Bell; fined 40s. and 20s. damages or 21 days.

In the King's Bench Divisional Court, before Justices Bray, Avory, and Lush; appeal of Mr. George Lansbury against the decision of Sir J. Dickinson binding him over and in default three months' imprisonment for incitement; dismissed.

At Bow Street Police Court, before Sir J. Dickinson, thirteen women and eleven men charged with insulting behaviour, wilful damage, assaults on police or obstruction of police; defendants imprisoned, bound over, or fined, two discharged, and some adjourned.

Tuesday, July 29.—At the North London Police Court, before Mr. D'Eyncourt, charged with breaking windows at Holloway Prison; Miss Catherine Jarvis and Miss Mary Richardson; both two months' hard labour.

At Marlborough Street Police Court, charged with assault; Miss Mary Richardson (did not appear), Mr. Harry Ryan, Mr. Michael Scully, and Mr. Harry Bark; 21 days' hard labour, fined 40s. or 21 days, and 20s. or 14 days respectively.

At Manchester; case of Mr. and Mrs. Baines, their son, and Miss Wallwork adjourned.

Wednesday, July 30.—At Bow Street Police Court, on refusing to be bound over; Mr. George Lansbury gave himself up; sentenced to three months.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mr. Donald M'Ewan	May 19	9 ,,
Miss Annie Bell	July 15	21 days
Miss Mary Richardson	July 8	3 months
	July 18	14 days
	July 29	2 months' hard labour
Mrs. Marshall	July 22	14 days
Mrs. Rogers	,,	,,
Miss Rock	,,	21 days
Miss West	,,	,,
Miss Sylvia Pankhurst	July 8	3 months
Miss Gwendoline Cook	July 28	5 days
Mrs. Alice Rose	,,	5 days
Mrs. Mary Pascoe	,,	2 months
Miss Frances Dickinson	,,	14 days
Miss Dulcie West	,,	21 days
Mrs. Alice Brown	,,	5 days
Mr. Charles Webber	,,	5 days
Miss Jarvis	July 29	2 months' hard labour
Mr. Ryan	,,	21 days' hard labour
Mr. Stevenson	,,	4 months' hard labour
Miss Kenney	June 17	18 months
Mrs. Rigby	On Remand	—

WHERE TO SHOP

Bedding Manufacturers
Shoolbred & Co.

Bootmakers
Benduble Shoe Co.
Derry & Toms
Hannan-Gingell
Peter Robinson
William Owen

Coal Merchants
W. Clarke & Sons

Corsetieres
Debenham's
Derry & Toms
Dickins & Jones
Gorringe's
Hayford's
Jaeger's
Marshall & Snelgrove
New Mercedes
Peter Robinson
Regal Corset Parlor
William Owen

Dentist
Chodwick Brown

Drapers
Debenham's
Derry & Toms
Dickins & Jones
Jaeger's
Gorringe's
Marshall & Snelgrove
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Derry & Toms
Dickins & Jones
Gorringe's
Hayford's
Jaeger's
Marshall & Snelgrove
Peter Robinson's
Shoolbred's
Wm. Owen
Wolsey Hose

Hair Dresser
F. Ludicke

Hotels
Strand Imperial Hotel
Thackeray Hotel

Jewellers and Silversmiths
Goldsmiths and Silversmith's Co.
S. Sessel & Co.
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Dickins & Jones
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Mrs. Oliver
Peter Robinson
William Owen

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Hillside Laundry
Lavender Laundry
Model Laundry
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SAXE, to pull on. 3/11 Elastic Wrists.
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(Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

WHITE SLAVERY, by Mrs. Hugo Ames. The answer to Mrs. Billington Greig in pamphlet form, 1s. 6d. a dozen; ready next week.—Sidney Rist, 56, Ludgate Circus, E.C. Capture of Lady Bird, 7d., post free.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerard.

BOARD-RESIDENCE for STUDENTS, visitors to London, and others. Moderate terms. Central. Comfortable.—Miss Kilbey, 5, Guilford Street, Russell Square, W.C.

BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

HEIGHTS OF UDIMORE (300ft).—Board-residence, modernised farmhouse; delightful grounds, tennis, croquet; from 35s.—Ridley, Parsonage Place, Udimore, near Rye.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUMMER SCHOOL (Reformed Diet).—"Thornbank," Collington Avenue, Bexhill-on-Sea. Mr. and Mrs. Sutch. Charming house, 4½ acres grounds, overlooking sea, excursions, tennis, badminton, private bathing tent, entertainments, dancing, &c., &c.—Send for illustrated booklet to the Secretary, above address.

TOURAINE.—Private Family receives Ladies; holidays or longer. Daily French lessons if desired; piano; garden; terms moderate; strongly recommended.—Madame Blanc, Chambon près Blois.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

HAMPSTEAD SUBURB.—Lady offers another furnished bed-sittingroom; suit vegetarian; use bath, gas cooker; electric; no attendance; near cars.—"Suburb," Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

LADY, with well-furnished Flat, Denmark Hill, will let two rooms. Bath, electric light. Suit married couple or two ladies. References exchanged.—Box 420, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, E.C.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

LETCHWORTH.—Furnished Bungalow to Let from October.—Two living, four bed, and bathroom, studio, garden; lovely outlook; 25s. week.—Hillside, Norton.

PEACE AND SECLUSION to be had at delightful cottage, Wye Valley. To be let, furnished, from second week September, long or short period. 600 feet. Satisfying views; bracing air.—For details and terms apply, Mrs. Dove-Willcox, Woodcot, near Tintern, Monmouthshire.

TO LET.—New Barnet, Herts. G.N. main line, five minutes from station, splendid service to City or West End, Small House, semi-detached, on two floors, 4 bed and bathrooms.—Apply, Owner, 80, Larkhall Rise, Clapham.

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ANSTEY COLLEGE SUMMER School, September 2nd to 16th, offers the following attractions:—Physical training under expert tuition, including Swedish gymnastics, games, folk dancing, swimming; non flesh diet, consisting largely, but not entirely, of uncooked foods; interesting lectures on higher thought subjects, diet and physical culture.—Send for particulars to Miss Anstey, Chester Road, nr. Birmingham.

MISS MAXWELL attends daily for Massage in Muscular, Nerve, and Gastric troubles. Special Obesity treatment for Face, Arms and Neck. Skin food for removing wrinkles. Straps for double chins. Lotion for enlarged pores.—52, New Bond Street, W.

MISS PRESTON gives Motor Lessons, Driving, running repairs; country pupils; modern touring car for hire; terms moderate.—4, St. Mary Abbott's Place, Kensington, W. (Telephone, 918 Western.)

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MRS. CAVENDISH BENTINCK wishes to recommend a Gentlewoman for a Position of Trust, such as Housekeeper to an institution, college, or school. Has had experience; holds nurse's certificate; could take charge of a house and children during parents' absence.—Apply Mrs. Bentinck, Morton House, Corfe Castle, Dorset.

SECRETARY (Gentlewoman) required daily for end of August with knowledge of French and German, typing and shorthand. Able to interview.—State particulars and salary to St. Mary's Nursery College, Belsize Lane, Hampstead, N.W.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

LADY (Graduate), residing in Southport, desires holiday engagement. Would make herself useful in any way. Remuneration to be given to the Fellowship Fund.—Box 418, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

"NON-MILITANT," wishing to go to Victoria, Canada, would travel with family; take charge of children, &c., for passage.—Box 416, Votes for Women, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

MEMBERSHIP CARD*

Various Forms of Service Open to Members

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2.—To circulate Votes for Women among friends.

3.—To sell Votes for Women in the streets or by house to house canvas.

4.—To obtain new subscriptions for three or six months to the paper.

5.—To deal as far as possible with the firms that advertise in Votes for Women.

6.—To canvass newsagents with the purpose of securing the display of Votes for Women posters.

7.—To secure new members for the Votes for Women Fellowship.

8.—To contribute to the Votes for Women Fellowship Fund, for various purposes of development, including the display of posters.

9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation.

To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

To educate and arouse opinion throughout the country, and rally sympathy and support to the fighters in this campaign for human liberty; to stimulate strenuous opposition to the Government's policy of futile and wicked coercion, and to persuade all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure upon the King's ministers to carry out the spirit of the British Constitution, and to concede the just and reasonable demand of women to be included in the body politic.

Methods.—Active co-operation, by one or all of the various forms of service enumerated on the opposite page, with the Editors of Votes for Women, so that in fellowship of spirit and unity of purpose the common aim as stated above may be achieved.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy. Commencing in 1914, there will be a minimum entrance fee of 1s., and also a minimum annual subscription of 1s., due in January of each year.

Just as the Fellowship itself does not compete with any existing organization, so Votes for Women does not compete with any existing Suffrage paper. It serves a different though complementary purpose. As a paper independent of all Suffrage societies, it addresses itself to the outside public, presents a catholic view of the Woman's Movement, and appeals to every class and section of the community. Its wide circulation must result in more recruits for the various battalions of the Suffrage army and a greater demand of the official publications of the great militant and non-militant Unions.

The Editors of Votes for Women give their services to the paper without remuneration of any kind. That service is their contribution to the Suffrage Movement as a whole. They are pledged to devote any financial profits that may accrue to the further development of the paper.

Please enrol me as a member of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship.

Name..

(Please state whether Mrs., Miss, or Esq., etc.)

Full Address..

....

*** The above, in the form of a six-page card, will be sent to any reader of "Votes for Women" on application to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.**

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

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LADY WANTED, to do work of small country house, not as one of family. Fond of reading, walking and cycling; help for rough work; very quiet place. £25.—Apply Box 422, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

YOUNG GERMAN, wishing to go to Buenos Aires, seeks lady or children to maid on the journey.—Address Louisa, Somerset House, New Barnet, Herts.

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LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S LINEN carefully washed and daintily finished by Beaven's Lavender Laundry. A trial solicited. A postcard receives prompt attention.—90, Lavender Road, Clapham Junction.

LADIES, why have your Linen Laundered in London when for the same prices it can be done at an ideal country laundry? Abundance of water and large drying green; returned early, correctly, and to time.—Sunnyside Laundry, Stevenage, Herts.

MISS WOOD wishes to recommend her French laundress; fine lingerie a spécialité.—French Laundry, 194, Elthorne Road, Hornsey Rise, N.; and 10a, Cambridge Place, Paddington, W.

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HAIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 9d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BECHSTEIN OVERSTRUNG PIANO, 30 guineas cash; very great bargain.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

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